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DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

A NATIVE SPEAKER AS AN EFL TEACHER

RODILÝ MLUVČÍ JAKO UČITEL ANGLIČTINY

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Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracoval samostatně, že jsem řádně citoval všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

V Praze dne 30. dubna 2013

.....
Miroslav Ledvinka

Abstrakt

Úvod: Hlavním cílem práce je postihnout význam a úlohu rodilých mluvčích ve výuce angličtiny jako cizího jazyka v kontrastu k očekáváním ze strany jejich studentů a zaměstnavatelů. Statut rodilých mluvčích, kteří učí angličtinu v České republice je porovnáván s postavením nerodilých mluvčích. Těžiště práce spočívá v praktické kapitole, která definuje postavení rodilých mluvčích v českém vzdělávacím systému.

Teoretická část: Teoretická kapitola předkládá stručný nástin vývoje konceptu rodilého mluvčího spolu s nejvýznamějšími ekonomicko-politickými vlivy, které tento koncept formovaly. Mimo to přináší teoretická část také ucelený přehled nejčastěji diskutovaných témat ve vztahu k rodilým mluvčím ve výuce angličtiny. Tento přehled je vypracován na základě studií publikovaných v zahraničních vědeckých periodících a zohledňuje i poznatky z obhájených diplomových a disertačních prací z oblasti didaktiky angličtiny, zpracovaných na významných českých vysokých školách. Teoretická kapitola rovněž postihuje současné tendence ve vývoji role rodilých mluvčích v rámci ELT, mimo jiné i ve vztahu k přístupu „English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)“.

Praktická část: Analytická kapitola se sestává z kvantitativní a kvalitativní části. Kvantitativní část pracuje se souborem hypotéz vztahujícím se k statutu rodilého mluvčího ve výuce angličtiny v českém kontextu. Tyto hypotézy jsou testovány na základě interpretace výsledků dotazníkového šetření, zkoumajícího zkušenosti pokročilých studentů angličtiny s učiteli angličtiny (rodilými i nerodilými mluvčími). Kvalitativní část výzkumu je založena na osobním rozhovoru s představiteli dvou významných komerčních jazykových škol na téma role a významu rodilých mluvčích ve výuce angličtiny. Oba rozhovory přinášejí jak náhled do filozofie českých jazykových škol, tak i poukazují na nejdůležitější důsledky zapojení rodilých mluvčích do výuky angličtiny.

Závěr: V závěru práce jsou shrnuty poznatky získané oběma výzkumnými metodami. Výsledkem práce jsou jak adaptované původní hypotézy, tak i zcela nové poznatky, vzešlé z interpretace získaných dat. Závěrečná kapitola také předkládá několik doporučení, týkajících se začlenění rodilých mluvčích do výuky angličtiny a maximalizace jejich přínosu pro studenty. V neposlední řadě práce nastiňuje potenciální možnosti dalšího využití získaných dat a možné směřování budoucího akademického výzkumu.

Klíčová slova: ELT, EFL, rodilý mluvčí, nerodilý mluvčí, učitel angličtiny

Abstract

Introduction: The principal aim of this thesis is to determine the role and significance of native speaker teachers of English in the teaching process, as well as to define the expectations of their students and employers. The status of native speaker teachers in the Czech Republic is being contrasted to the position of non-native speaker teachers. The core of this study lies in the analytical part which attempts to delimit the characteristics of the implementation of native English-speaker teachers into the Czech education system.

Theoretical part: The theoretical chapter presents a concise summary of the theoretical terms and concepts, both historical and contemporary, which are related to the topic of native English-speaker teachers. Apart from the traditional survey of topics discussed in various authoritative publications and journals, the theoretical overview also includes a schematic outline of the historical development of the status of native speaker teachers with respect to the social, political, and economic factors which played a major role in the shaping of native speakers' position in the education process, and society as a whole. In addition, the theoretical chapter traces the contribution of Czech ELT scholars by focusing on a selection of arguments treated in master and doctoral theses defended at various Czech universities during the last decade. Last but not least, the theoretical background of the concept of a native speaker teacher is used in order to dispute some of the claims of the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) approach.

Analytical part: The analytical chapter consists of a quantitative and a qualitative part. The quantitative part, represented by a questionnaire survey concerning the experience of advanced learners with native EFL teachers, tests a set of preliminary hypotheses. This survey is complemented by a follow-up two-fold case study in the form of interviews concerning professional experience and opinions of representatives of two major Czech commercial language schools. These interviews provide an insight into the policies of commercial language schools concerning native English speakers, as well as highlight some of the most significant issues and consequences that stem from the presence of native English-speaker teachers in an EFL classroom.

Conclusion: The paper concludes with a set of schematic proposals as to what aspects of the native/non-native speaker dichotomy should be paid close attention to. Besides, it argues that the native/non-native speaker division is legitimate since it stems from a number of actual differences between the two groups. As such, the distinction between native and non-native speakers should be retained for strictly referential purposes. Towards the end of the thesis, certain recommendations regarding effective implementation of native English-speaker teachers into the Czech education environment are formulated. The thesis is concluded by an outline of potential future research.

Keywords: ELT, EFL, native speaker, non-native speaker, English teacher

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Abbreviations

CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CELTA	Certificate in English language teaching to adults
CSI	Czech School Inspectorate
EAS	English and American Studies
EFL	English as a foreign language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
ESL	English as a second language
ESP	English for specific purposes
GA	General American
L1	First language
L2	Second/Foreign language
NES(s)	Native English speaker(s)
NEST(s)	Native English-speaker teacher(s)
NNES(s)	Non-native English speaker(s)
NNEST(s)	Non-native English-speaker teacher(s)
PO	The first interview
PR	The second interview
Q	Question
RP	Received Pronunciation
TEFL	Teaching English as a foreign language
TESL	Teaching English as a second language
TESOL	Teaching English to speakers of other languages

1 Introduction

The majority of contemporary research in the world of English language teaching – and consequently language teaching in general – has been centred on the learners. While much attention has been paid to the learning process and the learner characteristics, the role of the teaching process, and teachers in particular, has been to a large extent neglected (Árva & Medgyes, 2000: 355). Although this trend seems to be gradually changing, there are still areas of the teacher-centred research which have not been extensively pursued, particularly by researchers outside the Anglo-American applied linguistics sphere. The topic of native English-speaker teachers of English undoubtedly belongs to one of the issues which have not been sufficiently treated in the works of Czech ELT scholars. The present paper will therefore attempt to compensate for this paucity.

The main aim of this paper is to determine the role and significance of native speaker teachers of English in the teaching process, as well as to define the expectations of their students and employers. The status of native speaker teachers in the Czech Republic will be compared to the position of non-native speaker teachers. The core of this study lies in the analytical part which attempts to delimit the characteristics of the implementation of native English-speaker teachers into the Czech education system. This is carried out by means of a two-tier survey consisting of a quantitative and a qualitative level.

The quantitative part is represented by a questionnaire survey testing the experience of advanced learners with native English-speaker teachers of English as a foreign language, and should provide a data sample extensive enough to allow certain larger-scale generalisations. The quantitative survey is complemented by a follow-up two-fold qualitative study in the form of interviews, which should present a different and perhaps a more in-depth perspective of the main question. Both interviews concern personal and professional experience of two head methodologists at major Czech commercial language schools, both of which employ a significant number of native English-speaker teachers. Apart from the personal dimension, these interviews should provide an insight into the policies of commercial language schools concerning NESTs, as well as highlight some of the most significant issues and consequences that stem from the presence of NESTs in an EFL classroom.

Naturally, such study would be incomplete without a concise summary of the theoretical terms and concepts, both historical and contemporary, which relate to the main topic. This overview is presented in the theoretical chapter of this paper and apart from the traditional survey of topics discussed in various authoritative publications and journals, it includes a schematic outline of the historical development of the status of native-speaker teachers with respect to the social, political, and economic factors which played a major role in the shaping of their position in the education process, and society as a whole.

The contribution of Czech ELT scholars to the theoretical discussion of the topic is represented by a selection of arguments treated in master and doctoral theses defended at various

Czech universities during the last decade. Last but not least, the theoretical background of the concept of a native speaker teacher is presented in order to dispute some of the claims of the English as a lingua franca (ELF) approach, which has recently attracted a world-wide attention and which is by some scholars seen as a 21st century echo of Wilhelm Viëtor's famous pamphlet from 1882, *Language learning must start afresh!* (Howatt, 1985: 344).

Hopefully, the joint forces of the theoretical and analytical parts will ensure that the topic is covered with the maximum breadth without necessarily sacrificing its depth and that it will safely navigate the readers through most of the pitfalls and controversies of the issue and equip them with a solid understanding of the key concepts that they could make use of in their own research. In addition, the main idea - let's hope not a very presumptuous one - behind this paper is to provide a kind of manual for Czech education authorities of how to implement native English-speaker teachers into the teaching process in order to maximise the outcomes for both learners and teachers alike.

2 Theoretical background

As mentioned in the introductory section, the theoretical chapter will touch upon various topics connected to native English-speaker teachers (NESTs) and consequently to non-native English-speaker teachers (NNESTs). Some of these issues are perceived as highly controversial and discussions of their possible interpretations and significance have been led for decades with unceasing passion and fierceness so typical for the world of English language teaching (ELT). It may thus be appropriate to start the theoretical overview by exploring the development of the notion of NESTs and foreign language teaching as such, as it was shaped throughout the course of history. It would be especially wise to do so due to the well known fact that history tends to repeat itself and that, as professor Vladimír Skalička would say, looking attentively at his hands, ‘Everything has been here before.’

2.1 Native speaker teachers and the history of ELT

2.1.1 Modern language teaching until the end of the 18th century

The teaching of modern vernacular languages in England can be traced back to the end of the year 1396, when an anonymous author from East Anglia wrote the first manual for the teaching of French for travellers to France (Howatt, 1985: 3). However, the teaching of English as a second language¹ was not established for almost another two centuries and interestingly, the first serious attempt for a scholarly description of the English language, i.e. William Bullokar’s *Pamphlet for Grammar* from 1586, appeared even later (Hogg & Denison, 2006: 284).

2.1.1.1 The first Huguenot exile

Although there are signs that numerous members of the mercantile community in Flanders were interested in learning English, the first verifiable testimonies of English being taught as a second language² in the English kingdom come from the Elizabethan age, more specifically from the 1570s and 1580s, after the influx of large numbers of Huguenot and other Protestant refugees from France, Flanders, Italy, and Spain. Paradoxically enough, the first teachers of English as a foreign language were the French. The period, commonly called the first Huguenot exile, saw the publication of first textbooks designed solely to teach English to speakers of French. The market was not yet very extensive though, mainly due to the fact that the position of *lingua franca*³ was safely occupied by

¹ The difference between ESL and EFL reflects the setting where English is taught. In the case when English is commonly used in the everyday social environment outside the classroom we speak of ESL, whereas in the case when English is a foreign language and is thus rarely heard outside the classroom we speak of EFL (Moussu & Llorca, 2008: 338). Additionally, the term ‘acquisition’ is often used in connection to ESL, as opposed to ‘learning’ which is more related to an EFL context (Crystal, 2010: 388).

² The terms ‘foreign’ and ‘second’ language are often used interchangeably, mainly in the USA. However, throughout this paper, the distinction of EFL and ESL (see above) will be retained.

³ *Lingua franca* is a traditional linguistic term that originally described a language based on Italian and Southern French (Occitan) used for commercial and military purposes in the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages (Quinn-Novotná, 2012: 45). Nowadays, it is used as a metaphor for a language systematically used between speakers not sharing the same mother tongue (Howatt, 1985: 102).

French at that time. Nowadays, we can only speculate what led the authors to undertake this uncertain venture; it could either be that they found it easier to learn English themselves than try to understand the French of their English business partners. More likely though, they kept in mind the old truth that even a rudimentary knowledge of the client's mother tongue can make wonders in the world of business (Howatt, 1985: 6).

Nevertheless, the majority of these immigrant teachers set out to teach their native languages to the English clientele, which was ready to pay generously especially for French classes led by professional teachers. The profitability of this early language teaching business can be demonstrated on the example of Claudius Holyband, the leading teacher of his day, whose principal work was teaching young children French in what became the first network of French language schools set up in and around London. Holyband, like many of his contemporaries, undoubtedly made full use of the fact that he was a second-generation immigrant, fluent in both English and French, which enabled him to employ the traditional bilingual method⁴, already firmly established due to the teaching of classical languages. Interestingly, this is a direct opposite of the 20th century tendency promoted by some native speaker teachers and ELT scholars who favour the monolingual approach and suggest banishing the students' mother tongues from foreign language classrooms (Howatt, 1985: 13).

The reason for the absence of a larger number of native English-speaker EFL teachers (NESTs) could be the already mentioned lack of scholarly grammars of English, which was only reluctantly being remedied by Bullokar and his followers. In other words, for clarifying their native speaker intuitions, native speaker teachers need to rely on a set of linguistic descriptions and explanations in order to allow them to see their mother tongue through the eyes of someone who is as yet attempting to learn it. An absolute precondition to the success of this process, often referred to as the 'reflexive practice', is the existence of substantial linguistic treatises which, contrariwise to French, were difficult to come by in the 16th century ELT (Howatt, 1985: 14).

It was the already mentioned Claudius Holyband, with his remarkably developed commercial talent who decided to move the business of foreign language teaching one step forward. Since aristocratic children were usually educated at home, he targeted his entrepreneurial efforts on the sons of the wealthy mercantile classes, who were rather eager that their sons should speak French and, more importantly for Holyband, were ready to pay exorbitant tuition fees, a fact for which he was often denounced by his competitors. Holyband strived to justify these high prices by claiming that as a native speaker teacher, he can provide the children with a native-like pronunciation, a claim not unfamiliar among the contemporary ELT community (Howatt, 1985: 20). Apart from his focus on good pronunciation, Holyband was probably one of the first teachers who started to propagate the

⁴ The bilingual approach stems from the belief that many of the skills learned in the native language can be easily transferred to the second language. In a transitional bilingual program, the student's primary language is used as a vehicle to develop literacy skills and acquire academic knowledge in an L2. It thus largely resembles the grammar translation method (see footnote 10, page 18) (Crystal, 2010: 442).

monolingual approach⁵ and punished his pupils for using English during his classes, although he also made extensive use of double-translations⁶ (Howatt, 1985: 22).

With such prominent foreign figures like Holyband and John Florio, a teacher of Italian and ESL in the Italian community in London, it is hardly surprising that it were non-native teachers who held the monopoly for teaching modern languages including English in the late 16th century England. In the 1590s, the publishing activities of the refugee teachers reached their climax, as did the bubbling resentment of the English-born scholars who decided that the time had come for a counter-attack. The person who picked up the glove was John Eliot with the publication of his mock French manual entitled *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593). In the introduction, he directly challenges the ‘teachers and professors of noble languages, who are very busy daily in devising and setting forth new books and instructing our English gentlemen in this honourable city of London’ to ‘persuade everyone that you meet, that my book is a false, feigned, slight, confused, absurd, barbarous, lame, unperfect, single, uncertain, childish piece of work, and not able to teach, and why so? Forsooth because it is not your own, but an Englishman’s doing’ (Howatt, 1985: 28). After this, he loses all restraint and his tour-de-force of insult spans over several pages, accusing foreign teachers of poisoning England with the works of devilish writers such as Machiavelli. Therefore, the only sensible thing to do would be to banish them from the kingdom like any other plague as they are nothing but ‘beasts and serpents’ (Howatt, 1985: 29).

Paradoxically, Eliot’s attack seems to have been successful but at the same time destructive. John Florio, most probably the primary target of Eliot’s disparaging text, never wrote any new language manual and also textbooks published by other refugee authors were gradually drying up from the mid-1590s onwards. Even though this was caused by an improving political and religious situation in France after the Edict of Nantes was issued in 1598, rather than by Eliot’s eloquence. However, the assumption that native teachers and textbook writers were being discriminated against turned out to be groundless as no English-born authors stepped forward to fill the vacated place. It can thus be said that after the departure of the refugees, foreign language teaching declined in the early 17th century England, though other socio-political factors such as the outbreak of the Thirty Years’ War certainly played their role in this trend which began to change once again with another wave of immigrants in the latter half of the 17th century (Howatt, 1985: 30).

However, before focusing on the impacts of the second surge of political refugees on language teaching in England, it is vital to mention one of the most influential characters in the whole history of language teaching, whose innovative contribution virtually gave birth to the modern approach to

⁵ Holyband in fact employed what was later called ‘inductive approach’, an approach to the teaching of grammar which starts from the text and presents the rules only when the students become familiar with the new material. With Henry Sweet as its advocate, this approach became particularly prominent in the late 19th century when it clashed with the Direct Method proponents (Howatt, 1985: 20).

⁶ Double-translation method (e.g. Latin – English – Latin) has had its firm position in the teaching of classical languages and is intended to make the learners equally conscious of the structures and resources of a foreign language and their mother tongue. The method works with translations of translations and the ultimate goal is to recreate the original text accurately, with its content kept constant (Howatt, 1985: 34).

language teaching methodology and learning methodology in general. This person is of course Jan Amos Comenius.

2.1.1.2 Jan Amos Comenius

Much has been said and written about Comenius' uneasy but fruitful life but for the purposes of this paper, it would perhaps be more valuable to look at his philosophical background. It can be claimed that there were in fact two distinct schools of thought concerning the role and function of language studies at the beginning of the 17th century. On the one hand, there was the humanist tradition earlier established by Erasmus and materialised in the already mentioned inductive approach of Claudius Holyband and his followers, such as Roger Ascham and Joseph Webbe. On the other hand, there was the puritanical streak, set out at some length by Francis Bacon. It was this latter school of thought that reached its most elaborate expression in the works of Comenius (Howatt, 1985: 33).

Although he gave them credit for turning attention towards the perceptible world of the senses, for Bacon himself the humanists were in error in seeking truth in their own little worlds, rather than in the great and common world. Precisely towards this great and common world Comenius wanted to lead his pupils in their exploration of nature through the senses and the medium of language whereby these perceptions would be transformed into knowledge and understanding (Howatt, 1985: 39). As Comenius himself put it in *Janua Linguarum*, 'He hath laid the ground of all scholarship, who hath thoroughly learnt the right-naming of things ... words being understood aright, things are understood: and both are better learnt together, than asunder' (Comenius, J. A. 1633. *Janua Linguarum*, in Howatt, 1985: 39).

Regardless of the fact that Comenius is best known as an author of Latin textbooks, it should be noted that what he actually strived for was a system of education pivoted on the mother tongue, with foreign languages being taught as and when they were needed for practical purposes. He was convinced that modern languages should be taught as a means of communication between people from neighbouring countries. However, at the same time he claimed that there is no need for excessive zeal and thoroughness since, 'the complete and detailed study of a language, no matter which it be, is quite unnecessary and it is quite absurd and useless on the part of anyone to try and attain it' (Comenius, J. A. 1633. *Janua Linguarum*, in Howatt, 1985: 43). Based on this quotation from *Janua Linguarum*, it could be postulated that Comenius would be opposed to the effort of many present-day ELT teachers and students who strive for native-like L2 competence, not because he would think that it is something unattainable - perhaps he did think so but there is no such evidence of it - but he would disagree simply because such task would be unnecessarily laborious. Hopefully, it will not be taking the reasoning too far to say that Comenius was in fact one of the first advocates of the functional

approach⁷, or more specifically the concept-based approach, to foreign language teaching, rediscovered in the 1970s by D. A. Wilkins.

We may only speculate if the world would have had to wait for such a long time for this rediscovery if Comenius had been successful in his efforts to set up a school either during his stay in England in the 1640s, or at any other point in his life. Sadly enough, neither of his textbooks encouraged other writers to emulate his picture-using techniques (Howatt, 1985: 50). Nevertheless, the dawn of audio-visual methods in foreign language teaching in the 20th century gave full credit to Comenius' genius.

2.1.1.3 *The second Huguenot exile*

As mentioned, modern language teaching stagnated in the first half of the 17th century, although the high demand for especially French remained at least unchanged. It was sufficiently quenched by a heightened influx of Huguenot refugees in the 1670s, after the Edict of Nantes was revoked. Similarly to the first wave which occurred roughly a century before, some of these foreigners focused on teaching English to their fellow refugees and thus helped to raise the teaching of English onto a level of expertise and professionalism it had never had until then (Howatt, 1985: 53).

It may be quite surprising to find out that the fundamentals of natural methods, nowadays known in various modifications and under various names such as the Conversation, Direct, Oral, or Communicative Method, were commonly used already in the 17th century. These methods, revived again by American linguists in the second half of the 19th century (see 2.1.2.3), were traditionally employed by private language tutors in wealthy families. Similarly to their modern counterparts, these teachers believed that language learning is an intuitive process to which people have a natural predisposition that can be stimulated in conversation (Howatt, 1985: 192).

The most prominent of this early generation which laid the foundations of modern ELT before 1800 is probably the Swiss scholar and diplomat Guy Miège, with his textbook *New Method for Learning English* from 1685. His book is both a 'middle-brow' grammar and a textbook for L2 learners of English. From the modern perspective, it was well ahead of its time with the core focus on maximum clarity and accessibility of the presented theory (Howatt, 1985: 54). Moreover, Miège can also be considered one of the first propagators of studying English as a foreign language, claiming that English is, 'an easy language to learn once the student has mastered the complexities of the sound and spelling system' (Howatt, 1985: 55).

Miège is an important character in the history of ELT for yet another reason. Being a non-native speaker, he seemed to be more sensitive to certain features of English that native grammarians tend to overlook. Among these features were for instance the use and function of the progressive aspect, which he accurately and clearly described in his textbook (Howatt, 1985: 57). Strangely

⁷ During the 1970s, a concern developed to make ELT more communicative by focusing on the functions of language and on the ability to use appropriate language in specific situations. Major communicative functions include evaluation, persuasion, and the marking of social relations (Crystal, 2010: 394).

enough, and analogically to the situation at the end of the 16th century, after Miège the initiative in EFL passed abroad and until the late 19th century, English-based authors of EFL coursebooks were virtually unknown, even though there are a few notable exceptions such as Ben Jonson's and John Wallis's grammars⁸ (Howatt, 1985: 94). The man who brought change to this situation was Henry Sweet but before him, ELT began to live its own life outside England.

2.1.1.4 *ELT outside England*

Although by 1600 the only countries with at least some ELT tradition were the Netherlands and France, the situation was rapidly improving towards the end of the 17th century. This was caused by a certain 'Anglo-mania' especially among the French intellectuals who, frustrated by the continental absolutism, perceived Britain with certain envy as a political maverick (Howatt, 1985: 64). Nevertheless, most 17th century EFL students were scholars who rather than aiming at obtaining communicative skills were concerned with the ability to read and translate English texts. This requirement was naturally reflected in the style and method of the coursebooks, which in most cases relied on excessive descriptivism (Howatt, 1985: 79). Thus, together with the political motivation, the specific needs of the learners are probably the reason why the breakthrough of ELT was powered by a heightened demand for English literary works, mainly translations of Shakespeare. This fashion soon spread to other regions such as Germany, Scandinavia, and Russia, where the prestige of English as the language of a naval superpower undoubtedly played its role as well. Finally, at the very end of the 18th century, in 1797, the first ESL textbook was published in India, thereby marking the point when English set out on a journey to become a global language (Howatt, 1985: 67).

The date 1797 is also significant because from that time on, the history of ELT splits into two branches, which for nearly a century developed almost independently of each other. One followed the path of imperial expansion and the role English played in the education throughout the Empire, while the other was concerned with the response of ELT methodology to education and social changes in 19th century Europe (Howatt, 1985: 71) (see also 2.1.2).

At a certain point, both branches had to deal with the rising issue of dialect variation and the notion of a standard language, already perceived in the late 18th century by grammarians such as William Cobbett who claimed that, 'children will pronounce as their fathers and mothers pronounce; and if ... the matter be good and judiciously arranged, ... the words well-chosen and properly placed ... hearers will pay little attention to the accent' (Howatt, 1985: 124). This statement is echoed in the 20th-century premise that the standard accent⁹ is merely one of a number of dialects which differs from the rest but is not superior to them. Cobbett's view can also be used as an argument subverting the

⁸ Jonson's *English Grammar* subtitled 'for the benefit of all strangers' marks the advent of grammars written by NESs and targeted on NNEs (Howatt, 1985: 94).

⁹ The standard accent used to be considered the only correct norm and a sign of high social status. Terminologically, 'Standard accent' equals 'Received Pronunciation' or 'BBC English' in the UK, or 'General American' in the USA (Crystal, 2010: 25).

stance advocated in the 1870s by the Berlitz schools, which strictly rejected NNESTs on the basis of their non-native and thus deficient pronunciation (Howatt, 1985: 205).

2.1.2 Foreign language teaching in the 19th century

19th-century foreign language teaching is usually characterised as the period when the long-lasting dominance of the grammar-translation method¹⁰ was finally challenged by more rational and practical approaches, stemming from the Reform Movement. However, this happened in the last two decades of the century and it was preceded by a number of other significant changes.

Among these is the gradual modernisation of the school curricula in England and elsewhere in Europe, resulting in the incorporation of at least one modern foreign language in the grammar school curriculum by 1900 (Howatt, 1985: 129). This trend was of course at the expense of classical languages, which did not give in easily. Quite the contrary, modern language teachers and textbook writers deliberately emulated the methods of the classics in order to avoid being accused of making the learning too easy and offering a soft option¹¹ to those who were not intellectually disciplined enough to study Latin or Greek. Consequently, spoken language was deemed irrelevant at best and accuracy was imperative in foreign language learning and teaching.

In addition, the 1850s saw the establishment of a system of public examinations controlled by the universities, which required the already mentioned academic respectability from modern languages. This had the inevitable result of determining both what and how the students had to learn in order to successfully pass these exams. As Howatt points out, ‘Under pressure of this kind, who can blame the teachers for pushing the grammar-translation method even further in the direction of a tyrannical obsession with minutiae?’ This setup was certainly the reason why many countries, including Britain, have been stigmatised as not being very good at foreign languages (Howatt, 1985: 135).

At the same time however, with the industrialisation gathering momentum throughout Europe, the importance of modern language teaching gained importance. A parallel to this trend can be seen in the 20th century expansion of air travel. Although at that time national rivalries still prevented the profiling of a distinct lingua franca, thanks to the British political and commercial potential, English certainly had all the predispositions to become one. In addition, the process of industrialisation was also largely responsible for the shaping of a new class of learners, no longer academics who needed to read foreign texts but instead traders who needed to communicate with their foreign partners in order

¹⁰ The grammar translation method derives from the traditional approach to the teaching of Latin and Greek which was particularly influential in the 19th century. It is based on meticulous analyses of the written language, with translation exercises, reading comprehension, and the written imitation of texts playing a key role. According to this method, L2 learning mainly involves the mastery of grammatical rules and memorisation of long lists of literary vocabulary, related to texts chosen more for their prestigious content than for their interest or level of linguistic difficulty. There is also very little emphasis on the development of listening and speaking skills (Crystal, 2010: 394).

¹¹ Interestingly enough, the inadequacy of the modern ‘soft’ languages as opposed to classical ‘hard’ languages can be paralleled to the not-infrequent contemporary prejudice against ‘soft’ qualitative research as contrasted to ‘hard’ scientific research. As a matter of fact, it is also reflected in the everlasting struggle between ‘soft’ humanities and ‘hard’ natural sciences (Richards, 2003: 1).

to make profit (Howatt, 1985: 139). This situation in fact partly resembled the early development of modern language teaching and learners' motivation in England in the 1570s (see 2.1.1.1).

2.1.2.1 *The Reform Movement*

The so-called Reform Movement began in 1882 with the publication of the previously mentioned essay by Viëtor, *Language learning must start afresh!* (see Introduction). Its principles are usually summarised in three core objectives: the primacy of speech, the centrality of the connected text in the language learning process, and the absolute priority of an oral methodology in a language classroom (Howatt, 1985: 170). Most representatives of the movement were also convinced that L2 learning must be similar to L1 learning and thus dedicated much time and energy into studying L1 acquisition in children, preparing the ground for various streams of modern linguistics.

The movement challenged the then accepted attitude that language learning can be solely based on a set of linguistic categories which can be exemplified during intensive practice with sample sentences¹²; a premise propagated in the 20th century by the audio-lingual method and its drills (Howatt, 1985: 141). Nevertheless, the Reform Movement is most praised for being the decisive impulse which enabled ELT to rise as an independent branch within applied linguistics. EFL and modern language teaching in general was finally granted a scientific status, embodied in the most remarkable figure of Henry Sweet and his 20th century followers: Daniel Jones and Harold Palmer (Howatt, 1985: 171).

2.1.2.2 *Henry Sweet*

Similarly to Comenius, much has been said and written about Henry Sweet, whose immortality was confirmed by G. B. Shaw's perfectionist professor Higgins, verifiably portrayed with 'touches of Sweet' in his character (Howatt, 1985: 182). However, for the purposes of this paper, it would be more interesting to suppress the importance of Sweet as a phonetician, and rather focus on his legacy in ELT, although these two areas of his interest are very much intertwined.

The landmark text in Sweet's ELT methodology career is unquestionably his book from 1899, *The Practical Study of Languages*, in many respects an unsurpassed work in linguistic pedagogy. It is not without interest that the principles of Sweet's book are mirrored in Bloomfield's 1942 text *An Outline Guide for the Practical Study of Foreign Languages*, which in turn became a key document for the American structural approach¹³ in the 1940s and 50s (Howatt, 1985: 183). Sweet's motivation for writing *The Practical Study* was his conviction that native English teachers can teach foreign languages at least as well as the 'swarms of foreigners, most of them very indifferently prepared for their task' who dominated the profession at that time (Howatt, 1985: 182). On the other hand, this does

¹² In the 19th century, the word *practical*, found in the titles of many coursebooks and grammars of this period, did not imply only a course that was useful but also one which required *practice*, i.e. typically translation of a varied range of sentences to and from the foreign language (Howatt, 1985: 132).

¹³ The foundations of this approach were in fact laid by the Prague School (i.e. the Prague Linguistic Circle) in the 1930s (Crystal, 2010: 458).

not entail that he would repudiate the non-native speaking teachers of foreign languages. Quite the contrary, because for example, ‘for teaching Germans English, a phonetically trained German is far superior to an untrained Englishman, the latter being quite unable to communicate his knowledge; and this principle applies, of course, with equal force to the teaching of foreign languages in England’ (Howatt, 1985: 183).

It is not surprising that Sweet identified a conscious study of phonetics as a necessary prerequisite to a successful mastery of any foreign language. He therefore refuses the claim of Jespersen and others that good pronunciation can be achieved through mere imitation. According to Sweet, good pronunciation was vital for intelligibility due to a number of words that are distinguished by minimal phonemic pairs (Howatt, 1985: 184). This formulates one of the first claims that native-like pronunciation is an attainable model and that L2 learners should strive for it throughout their studies.

Even though Sweet did not elaborate further on the question of native/non-native speaker teachers, his call for a ‘living philology’ as opposed to the established ‘antiquarian philology’, and the application of this living philology ‘to the practical study of languages’ established an applied linguistic tradition in language teaching which has continued uninterrupted until the present day (Howatt, 1985: 189). Notwithstanding the fact that the term ‘applied linguistics’ itself was coined by American linguists in the 1940s, it was Henry Sweet who served this concept to his successors on a silver platter.

2.1.2.3 Natural methods

As mentioned earlier, natural methods based on conversation were in fact a commonplace well before 1900 (see 2.1.1.3) and many scholars believed that by the same natural capability that people can speak one language, they are able to learn a number of foreign languages, given that the circumstances are favourable. However, the circumstances in the mid 19th-century Britain were rather unfavourable, predominantly due to public neglect of education, allowing as J. S. Blackie put it, ‘any poor Polish refugee, German baron, or Italian marchese, that can find nothing better to do’ to teach foreign languages (Howatt, 1985: 195). A couple of decades later, Henry Sweet came to the same conclusion when he spoke about the ‘swarms of foreigners’ (see 2.1.2.2).

The Natural or Direct Method became particularly successful in the USA, where even elementary students of e.g. the Sauveur-Hennessy school showed remarkable ability to maintain quite long conversations in a foreign language. Just like in Britain in the 1570s and 1670s, modern language teaching in the USA benefited since the 1870s from the large number of immigrants from all over the world. Though traditional American schools were reluctant to adopt the Natural methods, the propitious economic circumstances stimulated those who saw the opportunity to set up their own schools and make their fortune (Howatt, 1985: 202).

Among these entrepreneurs was also Maximilian Berlitz, whose shrewdness made the Direct Method ‘the’ method of its time. The methodological principles and instructions for Berlitz school teachers were intriguingly simple: focus on oral activities, avoidance of grammar explanations in the early stages of the course, maximum use of the question-answer technique, and most importantly: no translation under any circumstances. Yet, for the purposes of this thesis, the most important feature of the Berlitz schools is their strict policy to employ only native-speaker teachers. This naturally meant that most of the teachers were quite young and that their training could not be very extensive and given the consequent high turnover of the staff, it could not be too costly either. The reason for employing only native speakers was mainly the conviction that the majority of non-native speaker teachers had an ‘execrable accent’, as Wilfred Owen put it in his early twenties when he was teaching English at a Berlitz school in France (Howatt, 1985: 206).

The Berlitz system was in fact designed as teacher-proof. It counted with the relatively inexperienced and often not very motivated teachers, for whom teaching their mother tongues was purely a way of ‘finding themselves’ while exploring the USA or Europe, and most of them, including Owen, dropped out after some time, though there were some, like Harold Palmer for instance, who ended up in the profession (Howatt, 1985: 205). Moreover, Berlitz’ method deserves credit for aiming at a group of learners that the grammar schools hardly knew existed, i.e. at adults with no formal linguistic training from school, who needed the foreign language, i.e. mostly English, in order to keep in touch with friends or relatives who had emigrated to the USA, or who were planning to emigrate there themselves, or the nature of their occupation demanded dealing with English-speaking clients. They thus perceived English in a purely utilitarian way and because of their lack of time during the day, they attended evening courses, the pinnacle of Berlitz’ entrepreneurial skills (Howatt, 1985: 207).

2.1.3 ELT since 1900

The first half of the 20th century saw the emergence of the teaching of English as a foreign language (TEFL) as an autonomous profession. The foundations of this autonomy lie in the fusion of the two reforming tendencies inherited from the previous century: the applied linguistics approach of the Reform movement (see 2.1.2.1) and the monolingual methodology of the Direct Method (see 2.1.2.3). The amalgamation of these two branches was reflected in the co-operation of Daniel Jones and Harold Palmer at the University of London in the first two decades of the century, with Jones representing the applied linguistics tradition of Henry Sweet, and Palmer contributing his experience gained as a Direct Method teacher (Howatt, 1985: 214). The efforts of the University of London scholars culminated in 1932 with the first training course for EFL teachers (Howatt, 1985: 215). In addition, the establishment of the British Council in 1934 and its overseas centres equipped ELT professionals for the first time in history with an authoritative body providing, if nothing else, a sense of continuity the field (Howatt, 1985: 217).

During the course of time, further distinct specialisations appeared, notably the teaching of English as a second language (TESL), with the distinction between EFL and ESL (see footnote 1) becoming widespread in the late 1950s. The paths of EFL and ESL diverted even more in the 1960s, due to the growing number of citizens of the former British colonies settling in the UK. EFL courses thus shifted more to secondary education and to the private sector, while ESL courses aimed at basic education and the specific context of the communities, which led to a rapid development of ESP in the 1970s. All these trends were at the same time accompanied by the expansion of English as a language of international communication (Howatt, 1985: 221) (see also 2.2.1).

The 20th century expansion of ELT went hand in hand with the growth of more rigorous studies regarding the role of NESTs, this time unblinded by excessive nationalism (see 2.1.1.1). First remarks on the potential differences between NESTs and NNESTs can be found in Harold Palmer's *Principles of Language Study* from 1921, where he admits that NNESTs are faced with greater challenges because not only must they imitate native English pronunciation but they also have to maintain the same level of accuracy in order to avoid teaching some 'pidgin speech' instead of English (Howatt, 1985: 241). On the other hand, Palmer strongly recommended EFL teachers to learn their students' mother tongue as it largely enhances comprehension and consequently L2 learning. Sharing the same L1 with their students would then be one of the greatest advantages of NNESTs over NESTs (Howatt, 1985: 240).

Another important discovery was made in the USA during World War II thanks to the Army Specialised Training Programme (ASTP), which made use of a co-operation of native and non-native teachers and aimed at maximum learning outcome in a minimal time. The non-native teachers were trained linguists, required to provide necessary grammatical explanations, while the native teachers were supposed to drill the patterns through endless repetitions. It became known as the 'mim-mem', i.e. mimicry and memorisation, method and it was in fact a forerunner of the audio-lingual approach and the language laboratory techniques (Howatt, 1985: 266).

Finally, the 1970s started a series of influential in-depth studies assessing the respective pros and cons of NESTs and NNESTs, carried out by Henry G. Widdowson and his followers (Howatt, 1985: 286). Some of these studies, with special emphasis on the more recent ones, will be discussed in the next part of this paper.

2.2 Recent studies concerning NESTs

Baffling as it might be, although the post-war era witnessed a surge in the number of people who speak English as a second or foreign language, native English speakers (NESs) have retained their exclusive authoritative position, which had been ascribed to them since the introduction of the so-called Natural Methods (see 2.1.2.3). In other words, even though English is nowadays often labelled as a global language, ELT scholars still operate with the concept of native as opposed to non-native

speakers (NNESs), trying to delimit if and how they differ and how to make use of their potential similarities and differences for the maximum benefit of their students.

2.2.1 English as a global language

Even though the emergence of English as a global language¹⁴ has been predicted for more than two centuries, in the narrow sense of the term *global*, its status is relatively recent (Howatt, 1985: 102). Nevertheless, at the end of the 20th century English enjoyed a very prominent role among other languages, a situation unprecedented by anything except Latin in the times when the world was much ‘smaller’ (Crystal, 2006: 422). To be more specific, in addition to the English-speaking countries, English has now a special administrative status in over 70 countries and another 100 countries treat English as the chief foreign language being taught at schools, or the language which the schools would most prefer to introduce, given the adequate resources (Crystal, 2006: 423). It is thus not surprising that the number of non-native English speakers is growing steadily and had by now surpassed the number of native English speakers more than three times (Crystal, 2006: 424). This tendency is demonstrated by the following table adapted from Crystal.

Source	First	Second	Foreign	TOTAL
<i>Quirk (1962)</i>	250	100		350
<i>Kachru (1985)</i>	300	300-400		600-700
<i>Crystal (1997)</i>	337-377	350	400-500	1200
<i>Crystal (2006)</i>	400	400	600-700	1400-1500

Figure 1: A selection of recent estimates of speakers of English as a first, second, and foreign language (in millions)¹⁵

The data in Figure 1 entail that approximately one quarter of today’s world population is capable of communicating in English on a fairly decent level. Moreover, if the numbers of EFL and ESL speakers are combined, they indicate that the ratio between native and non-native English speakers is around 3:1, which is in sharp contrast with the situation in the 1960s. Furthermore, demographic data suggest that by 2050, the proportion of native English speakers will fall from the 8% in the 1950s to less than 5% (Crystal, 2006: 425). The reasons for the dominance of English have already been outlined (see 2.1) and form the basis of the contemporary English hegemony in politics, economics, the media, advertising, motion pictures, popular music, international travel and safety, education, and the internet (Crystal, 2006: 427).

¹⁴ ‘English as a global language’ is partly interchangeable with the terms ‘Global English’, ‘Globish’, and mostly with ‘English as an International Language’, which is most commonly used in the TEFL domain (Quinn-Novotná, 2012: 23).

¹⁵ CRYSTAL, D. (2006). ‘English worldwide’ In Hogg & Denison (2006) *A History of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 424.

The growing percentage of non-native English speakers influences the English language as such and reshapes the standard in many linguistic communities, where NESs no longer ‘own’ the English language and where usage of local grammatical features or words is no longer deemed slovenly but respectable or even ‘cool’ (Crystal, 2006: 432). A combination of these factors led to the trend that in a globalised society, the most probable linguistic interactions are between NNESs rather than between NESs and NNESs (Gabrielová, 2010: 58). This phenomenon goes hand in hand with the rise of the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) approach within ELT.

2.2.2 The controversy of English as a Lingua Franca

Some scholars believe that the traditional models of EFL and ESL are untenable in the face of globalisation because they require the learners to imitate native speaker norms as much as possible while being constantly subconsciously made aware that their L2 competence is deficient when compared to a NES. Moreover, during the learning process, L2 learners are often expected to adopt not only native linguistic norms but also cultural and communicative norms (Gabrielová, 2010: 49). The aim of ELF is to remove these fossilised requirements that hinder communication and fail to reflect the needs of a globally integrated society and establish instead a truly democratic means whereby all speakers can express their identity without sacrificing their intelligibility (Gabrielová, 2010: 56).

The advocates of ELF have gone to great lengths in order to fight the common misconceptions and to explain what ELF is not. Perhaps one of the most typical fallacies is that ELF is a simplified version of English and thus represents one of the numerous attempts to create an artificial easy-to-learn communication tool, not dissimilar to Esperanto or simplified English-based languages such as for instance C. K. Ogden’s Basic English (1930) (Quinn-Novotná, 2012: 31). Several other scholars also aimed at providing EFL learners with some sort of backbone structure that should facilitate English learning. Among these efforts were for instance M. West’s General Service List (1953) or L. G. Alexander’s and J. Van Ek’s Threshold Level (1975) which later evolved into the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Quinn-Novotná, 2012: 32). This speculation that ELF equals ‘simplified English’ stems from the proclamation that in ELF, intelligibility is superior to acceptability or adherence to native norms as judged by NESs (Gabrielová, 2010: 58).

Another supposed pitfall in conceptualising ELF is in seeing it as a pidgin¹⁶. Regardless of a number of similarities, ELF scholars claim that there are major historical, linguistic, and functional differences between pidgins and ELF and it is then incorrect to classify ELF as a variety¹⁷ of English or as a contact language (Quinn-Novotná, 2012: 41). Nevertheless, the argument may seem somewhat fuzzy and largely dependent on the working definition of pidgins. It is perhaps worth considering

¹⁶ A pidgin is a sociolinguistic concept describing a language with a reduced range of structures and use, and with no native speakers (Crystal, 2010: 455).

¹⁷ A sociolinguistic term ‘variety’ describes a situationally distinctive system of linguistic expressions (Crystal, 2010: 460).

approaching pidgins not only from the restricted point of view of traditional sociolinguistics as deprived interface varieties, but rather attempt to look at the role of pidgins in the modern society. As well as pidgins, ELF can be understood as a utilitarian and interim solution for members of a certain linguistic community to maintain their social role and address global communication needs. However, once the speakers of either a pidgin or ELF decide to enhance their social status, they will tend to adapt their language to the language of the social group they strive to enter, e.g. a variety of British or American English. It is also problematic to see ELF as a target for individual English learners because even though the interlanguages¹⁸ they develop might manifest certain general properties, learners are unlikely to consciously adopt ELF as their target variety (Ellis, 2008: 300).

It is true that the proponents of ELF constantly have to defend their approach from attacks that they want to codify and teach some simplistic ‘bastardised’ English instead of the ‘good old BBC English’ (Quinn-Novotná, 2012: 42). But still, clearly stating what ELF is rather than enumerating what it is not, would certainly be more helpful to the academic discussion. One of the most quoted definitions of ELF comes from Alan Firth, who considered ELF to be a contact language between speakers who share neither a common mother tongue nor common national culture, and who choose English as their means of foreign language communication (Quinn-Novotná, 2012: 47). Other ELF scholars specified Firth’s definition by pointing out that since nobody speaks ELF natively, it is today mostly used by non-native speakers as they have by far outnumbered native speakers (Quinn-Novotná, 2012: 48). Nevertheless, such definition is in fact analogous to the definition of a pidgin (see footnote 16). Moreover, the term ‘lingua franca’ itself points to a historical pidgin language (see footnote 3), making the distinction between ELF and pidgins even fuzzier. Consequently, instead of setting up a new independent category of ELF, it may be more logical to refine the original concept of a pidgin in order to get rid of its derogatory connotations, namely the status of a more/less prestigious speaker/culture. After such reclassification, the category of pidgins could encompass ELF as its apparent 21st-century derivative.

Due to the limits of this paper, it is not possible to dispute the ELF phenomenon any further. Yet, it should be clear that the present study argues against the necessity of ELF as an independent discipline within ELT. Admittedly, ELF operates with a number of highly rational ideas which have unquestionably enriched ELT methodology, be it S. Pitt Corder’s claim that mistakes are signs of learning rather than deficiencies (Howatt, 1985: 285), Widdowson’s call for adopting a communicative approach in ELT (Howatt, 1985: 287), or Jenkins’ opinion that L2 learners should be exposed to as many regional and social English varieties as possible (Gabrielová, 2010: 62). Moreover, ELF undoubtedly contributed to the deconstruction of the traditional bipolar relationship between NESTs and NNESTs, which is perhaps its most important asset (Árva & Medgyes, 2000: 356). The subsequent table (Figure 2) adapted from Quinn-Novotná’s Ph.D. thesis neatly summarises

¹⁸ ‘Interlanguage’ is a term coined by L. Selinker to refer to the system that is observed at a single stage of development and that manifests features of both the learner’s L1 and L2 (Ellis, 2008: 968).

the most significant principles upon which the ELF approach is based. It is not without interest that the characteristics of ELF would almost perfectly fit to ESP as well (Widdowson, 1997: 148).

EFL paradigm	ELF paradigm
Downplaying of language performance → system and competence are primary	Highlighting of the performative nature of language → intelligibility is primary
Native and nativised Englishes closely tied to one or other speech community within particular states	English as a global set of linguistic resources with transgression of nationally defined varieties
Level of nativeness/linguistic heritage determines level of competence	Expertise is context dependent, locally determined and interactionally relevant
Success thus depends on adherence to centralized, standardized norms; imitative measures used for language assessment	Success depends on ability to accommodate/shift speech patterns to achieve communicative effectiveness
Variation seen as deviation from the standard → linguistic deficiency	Heightened variability and linguistic diversity → variation seen as inevitable and necessary
Native norms as target, use of authentic materials and methods	Norms, materials and methods of local relevance

Figure 2: Comparison of EFL and ELF paradigms¹⁹

Yet, before moving on to the controversy of the concept of the native speaker as such, it should be made clear that the author of this paper is convinced that ELF as an independent discipline contributes with nothing else but the already well-known information, presented with an unnecessary amount of sensationalism. Some researchers may also consider its methodology to be too prescriptivist and disrespecting the natural linguistic development (Gabrielová, 2010: 65). To conclude, even though many features of the ELF communicative strategy may be beneficial to beginner or lower-intermediate learners, their application to more advanced learners seems at best very problematic. This is partly because of the fact that in the case of ELF, the deconstruction of the native speaker supremacy may have gone a bit too far.

2.2.3 The controversy of the native/non-native status

It must be pointed out at the very beginning that the concepts of native and non-native speakers should be approached with caution because a lot of researchers believe that they have evolved from some roughly intuitive generalisation of perceived differences among language users with a diversity of linguistic expertise and experience. The proponents of this view state that the

¹⁹ QUINN-NOVOTNÁ, V. (2012) *World Englishes and ELF*. Prague: Charles University in Prague, Ph.D. thesis, p. 76.

native/non-native categories fail to reflect the real conditions and are misleading in suggesting that one group of speakers has a superior capacity to communicate more efficiently and intelligibly than the other group (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 319).

Such attitude would undoubtedly sound familiar to anyone who has ever been browsing through employment offers on one of the numerous TEFL websites. The predominance of job advertisements for EFL/ESL teachers which state ‘native speakers only’ or ‘to apply, you must be a native speaker’ is both striking and bemusing. A cursive survey of such adverts on *tefl.com*, one of the major websites for ELT professionals, yielded that more than two thirds (68%) of all TEFL job adverts are targeted exclusively on NESTs. The remaining 32% of offers do not explicitly disregard NNESTs, although most of them state that being a native English speaker is an advantage²⁰. Even though at first sight, it may seem as a legitimate condition which reflects a hypothetical preference of L2 learners for NESTs rather than NNESTs, it is in fact in direct contradiction to both the historical tradition of NNESTs’ dominance (see 2.1) and contemporary research. A survey of the findings of modern ELT research regarding the issue of nativeness will be presented in the subsequent parts of this paper.

2.2.3.1 Who (if anyone) is a native speaker?

For a long time the ELT profession was regarded as a monolithic block and the mere existence of NNESTs as an entity different from NESTs was often questioned (Árva & Medgyes, 2000: 355). The superiority of NESTs started to be challenged in the last two decades of the 20th century with the obvious increase in the number of EFL speakers around the world (see 2.2.2). Consequently, this movement brought attention to the very foundations of ELT when questions such as, ‘At the end of the day, who exactly is a native speaker?’ started to nag at many minds.

It may be tempting to think that the answer is something as straightforward as, ‘a Briton is, a Czech isn’t’. As a matter of fact, the solution starts to tangle fairly soon after ESL speakers are taken into consideration. Additionally, even in the case of the universally recognised native English-speaking countries, some speakers may defy such mechanical classification (Medgyes, 1992: 340). To be more specific, how to classify a ten-year-old child with a Czech mother and a Dutch father who both speak to the child in their mother tongues but they have all lived in London since the child was two years old? Is the child a native speaker of Czech, Dutch, or English; or perhaps of all the three languages; or none of them? Are there some speakers who are more native than others? How come that approximately every third NNEST claims that he or she can pass for a native speaker in some contexts, and every second NNEST feels that other NNESTs perceive him or her as a native speaker (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 316)?

Obviously, from a sociolinguistic point of view, the notion of native speakers is debatable and seems to be highly context-dependent. Furthermore, it is equally tricky from a strictly linguistic perspective since efforts to define native-like competence have yielded inconclusive results at best. It

²⁰ The data was gathered from the website <http://www.tefl.com/jobs/>, which was accessed on 30th January 2013.

is then not surprising that a number of scholars adopted the belief that not only have both native and non-native speakers the equal right to use English as they please, but that there is no need for the native/non-native categories in the first place.

The process of displacing the native speaker began in 1980s with Kachru's proposal that, 'the whole mystique of the native speaker and the mother tongue should probably be quietly dropped from the linguist's set of professional myths about language' (Medgyes, 1992: 341). Kachru's claim was then propounded even more radically with Paikeday's book *The native speaker is dead!* (Árva & Medgyes, 2000: 356). Edge summarised the argument more conciliatorily, stating that as far as ELT is concerned, it seems that, 'training and development should help us escape from the essentially nationalistic view of native/non-native speakers and get us involved in furthering an internationalist perspective in which users of English are simply more or less accomplished communicators' (Medgyes, 1992: 341).

Consequently, in an attempt to undermine the apparently useless and politically incorrect binomial, new concepts have been proposed even though in many cases they turned out to be equally spurious as the original labels. Among these are for instance the already mentioned 'more or less accomplished users of English' of Paikeday's, Rampton's 'expert speakers and affiliations', or Kachru's 'English-using speech fellowships', striving to stress the unity of the ELT profession rather than deepen the 'us-against-them' division (Árva & Medgyes, 2000: 356). However, regardless of all the linguistic, pragmatic, or ideological objections, most of them being perfectly legitimate, the native/non-native contrast proved to be impervious and is as widely used by ELT teachers and researchers as ever and one can only wonder why.

A somewhat cynical answer would be to paraphrase Halliday and claim that the native speaker is a useful term precisely because it cannot be pinned down. This conviction resonates in Davies' statement that, 'the native speaker is a fine myth: we need it as a model, a goal, almost an inspiration. But it is useless as a measure' (Davies, 1995: 157). Judging teachers' pedagogical and linguistic skills on the basis of a construct that cannot be unmistakably defined certainly seems rather unwise (Moussu & Llorca, 2008: 330). In any case, it is universally believed today that membership to one or the other category is a matter of self-ascription rather than a privilege of birth in a certain linguistic community (Árva & Medgyes, 2000: 356). It is then absolutely legitimate for anyone to claim that they are a native speaker, provided that the community which created the native/non-native distinction accepts them. Nevertheless, more often than not insiders look with disapproval at outsiders wanting to enter their group (Kramsch, 1997: 363). In short, though from a sociolinguistic perspective mobility between the two groups is possible, it tends to be rare (Kramsch, 1997: 364).

On the other hand, by no means all ELT researchers are convinced of the redundancy of the native/non-native distinction. Quite the contrary, they consider it to be valid and beneficial. They point to the fact that although native speakers have deficiencies in their mother tongue command, their language competence is still higher than most non-natives'. Moreover, non-native speakers' L2 usage

will be to a large extent always based on the native paradigm. In other words, it will necessarily be a norm-governed imitation of how the natives use the language (Medgyes, 1992: 343). This is not to say that native-like L2 competence cannot ever be attained by non-natives but given the current number of non-native speakers, it is very scarce and definitely extremely demanding, a fact already perceived by Comenius almost four centuries ago (see 2.1.1.2). On the other hand though, it was hinted at the beginning of this section that there are a number of individuals who have trouble with ascribing themselves to one or the other group. In the view of these cases it could be appropriate to understand the native/non-native speaker categories not as a dichotomy but as two extremes delimiting a continuum along which speakers constantly move (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 318).

However, the fact that native competence has not been successfully and unambiguously defined allows for a radical interpretation stating that non-native speakers are unable to reach native-like L2 competence, regardless of their motivation, perseverance, aptitude, education, or any other variable (Medgyes, 1992: 342). Non-native speakers thus perpetually move alongside the L2 continuum (schematically illustrated as Figure 3 below) and a certain number of them even manage to come very close to the native competence, i.e. to the nebulous area of near-native competence. These fortunate individuals predominantly recruit from ESL speakers (see footnote 1). But still, sooner or later even these speakers hit a ‘glass wall’ which prevents them from entering the ultimate stage of linguistic competence²¹ (Medgyes, 1992: 342).



Figure 3: The L2 competence continuum²²

2.2.3.2 *Who (if anyone) is a more competent speaker?*

Although some ELT researchers consider the native/non-native distinction to be a discriminatory echo of the colonial era, it is in itself only reflecting the reality and there is nothing wrong with using the two terms for purely descriptive purposes. What on the other hand is problematic is when the two labels become used as decisive evaluation and selection criteria. Such abuse of the native/non-native concept is what Holliday called ‘native speakerism’ and put it on the same level as racism, sexism, and other manifestations of culturism (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 337).

Naturally, instead of the polar opposites native/non-native, there are perhaps a number of more politically correct and less stigmatising terms to be found, some of which have been listed in the

²¹ Arguably, there is an infinitesimal number of non-native speakers (e.g. Joseph Conrad or Vladimir Nabokov) who actually manage to attain full native competence (Medgyes, 1992: 342). Nevertheless, it is impossible to measure the degree to which this success is determined by an unpredictable set of favourable consequences, notwithstanding the fact that the boundary between near-native and native competence is extremely fuzzy. People like Conrad and Nabokov can thus be regarded as the proverbial exceptions confirming the rule.

²² MEDGYES, P. (1992) ‘Native or non-native: who’s worth more?’ *ELT Journal* 46/4, p. 342.

previous section (see 2.2.3.1), but experiential studies of factual differences between the two groups confirm that there are considerable differences in the degree of competence with which native/non-native speakers use English and therefore also in the way they teach (see 2.2.5). As a matter of fact, it is not necessary to conduct field research in order to come to this conclusion but it is sufficient to compare the L1 competence of most non-native speakers with their L2 (foreign language) competence. Undeniably, the former is significantly higher than the latter. Consequently, the comparison between NESTs and NNESTs regarding their English competence analogically favours²³ NESTs (Medgyes, 1992: 343). This common truth should be kept in mind, despite many liberal-minded ELT researchers who often tend to neglect this glaring contrast between NESs and NNEs and who insist that the question of whether the teacher speaks English as a first, second, or foreign language is of little importance. But on the other hand, the fact that NESs are more competent users of English than NNEs does not in any respect entail that NESs are better EFL teachers than NNEs. Quite the contrary, for example Phillipson argued that since most NNEs learn English as adults, they are better equipped to teach it to other adults than those who had somewhat unknowingly acquired it as their L1 when they were children (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 316).

2.2.4 The more proficient, the more efficient?

In a small-scale survey carried out among participants at various ELT conferences, Peter Medgyes asked the respondents who they would hypothetically employ in their language school if they had to choose between a qualified NEST, a qualified NNEST, an unqualified NEST, and an unqualified NNEST. The results were that the qualified NEST would be the first choice, closely followed by a qualified NNEST (Medgyes, 1992: 345). In other words, a recognised TEFL qualification was given preference over mere nativeness.

The condition of a linguistic and methodological training is in accord with what has been mentioned above, i.e. that it would be false to believe that NESs are infallible English authorities. It is undoubtedly a frequent situation that for instance native speakers of Czech are not absolutely certain about the meaning of many Czech terms when reading a scientific or a historical text. The same applies to linguistic terminology and theoretical description of the language system because most NESTs never really come across these aspects of English until they start teaching (Árva & Medgyes, 2000: 361). It can actually be claimed that these are the areas where NNEs quite often outperform NESs (Medgyes, 1992: 345). However, considering a hypothetical case when there are two equally qualified and in all respects similar EFL teachers (see footnote 23), with the only difference being that one of them is a NES and the other a NNE, it allows us to pursue the question, ‘Does more proficient automatically mean more efficient?’

²³ Provided that the analysed NESTs and NNESTs feature more or less the same variables, i.e. age, sex, education, social background, intelligence, experience, aptitude, motivation, charisma, etc.

Based solely on the presumption that native English competence is unattainable by NNEs (see 2.2.3.1), the conclusion is seemingly straightforward, i.e. NNEs are the most proficient users of English which in turn makes them the most efficient EFL teachers. Inevitably, native English competence would then be the only variable the NNEs are handicapped in when compared to NNEs. Nevertheless, such conclusion would be hasty, simplistic, and most importantly contradictory to the observed reality where NNEs often attain at least similar professional success as NNEs.

Quite paradoxically, the factor that enables NNEs to compete with NNEs is exactly the non-nativeness of their English. As Medgyes puts it, 'what is a weakness on one side of the coin, is an asset on the other' (Medgyes, 1992: 346). Furthermore, Medgyes lists the following six hypotheses that support this strength-in-weakness argument (Medgyes, 1992: 347):

- a) **Only NNEs can serve as imitable models of the successful learner of English.** Even though NNEs can represent perfect language models, they cannot stand as learner models since they have never been learners of L2 English in the sense that NNEs have.
- b) **NNEs can teach learning strategies more effectively.** During their own learning process, NNEs have acquired a number of learning techniques in order to compensate for the deficient L2 acquisition. These techniques can be then presented to their students.
- c) **NNEs can provide their learners with more information about the English language.** Based on the abundant knowledge about and insight into how the language works, NNEs are often better informants about the system of English.
- d) **NNEs are more able to predict language difficulties.** Due to the fact that as well as their students, most NNEs had to learn English as a foreign language, they are more likely to anticipate linguistic aspects that may pose a problem to their learners.
- e) **NNEs can be more empathetic to the needs and problems of their learners.** Since NNEs in fact never cease to be learners of English themselves, they can encounter similar difficulties as their students, albeit at a considerably higher level. This enables NNEs to specifically target many pitfalls in L2 acquisition.
- f) **NNEs can largely benefit from sharing the learners' mother tongue.** Referring back to Palmer and Sweet, it is worth noting that in a monolingual setting, the learners' L1 is an effective and powerful vehicle which, if skilfully exploited, can greatly facilitate L2 learning.

It can thus be claimed that the above mentioned strengths balance the potential deficiency of NNEs' English competence. Due to the limits of this paper, these hypotheses will not be elaborated on at this point. However, most of them will be reintroduced and tested in the analytical section of this thesis (see 3.1.1). At this point, it should suffice to say that from the native/non-native perspective the statement, 'the more proficient, the more efficient', is false. In addition, the question, 'Who's worth more: a NNE or a NNE?' conduces to wrong judgements about the differences between the two groups and should therefore be rejected as nonsensical (Medgyes, 1992: 347).

Quite the contrary, within the group of NNESTs only, the correlation between proficiency and efficiency is valid because a more proficient NNEST can more readily respond to the six criteria above than a less proficient NNEST. That is to say with the potential exception concerning criterion (e) as some NNEST have admittedly acquired English in such an effortless way that they might be to a certain extent insensitive to learners' problems (Medgyes, 1992: 347). Therefore, one of the most prominent professional duties of NNESTs is to improve their command of English and thus get as close to the 'glass wall' as possible (see 2.2.3.1).

Finally, among NESTs, the assertion 'the more proficient, the more efficient' is absurd because in an applied linguistics sense, there can be no difference between native English speakers in terms of their L1 competence, even though there might be vast differences in the actual performance²⁴. In relation to the six advantages of NNESTs listed above, they should not be taken as absolute and inaccessible to NESTs because those NESTs who are successful learners of foreign languages can easily counterbalance some of the drawbacks of their nativeness. This applies in particular to those NESTs who have reached a certain level of proficiency in their learners' L1 and can thus for instance decode the mistakes their students make as L1 interference and address them accordingly (Árva & Medgyes, 2000: 362). To sum up, in the case of NESTs, the statement 'the more proficient, the more efficient' should be rephrased into, 'the more proficient in the learners' mother tongue and English linguistics, the more efficient in the classroom' (Medgyes, 1992: 348). Canagarajah later added that NESTs will be more suitable for the EFL context because of their extensive cultural knowledge, whereas NNESTs will better fit the ESL context because of their multicultural experience. Interestingly, neither of these claims has been supported by TESOL practicum authorities who seem to be convinced that NNESTs would be better teachers in their own countries (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 322).

These findings can then be extrapolated in order to outline the characteristics of the mythical 'ideal teacher'. All other variables left aside, it can by no means be said that an 'ideal teacher' is a label restricted solely to either NESTs or NNESTs. It can in fact be said that although NESTs and NNESTs stand relatively close to each other, they will always remain distinguishable groups. Nevertheless, they can still become ideal teachers, even though they would reach the ideal from different directions and by slightly different means (Medgyes, 1992: 348). In the case of NESTs, it is the high degree of proficiency in their learner's L1, while in the case of NNESTs it is determined by a near-native proficiency in English (Medgyes, 1992: 349). All things considered, a good EFL teacher apart from mastering a combination of linguistic, pedagogical, and methodological skills, will need to have experienced the process of acquiring and using a foreign language in order to understand the learning process the students undergo (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 330). Nonetheless, it should be kept in

²⁴ The theoretical framework distinguishing between linguistic competence and performance was developed by Noam Chomsky. Linguistic competence refers to the knowledge of items and rules that comprise the formal system of a language, while linguistic performance is the actual usage of this knowledge in communication (Ellis, 2008: 970).

mind that the boundary between NESTs and NNESTs is not to be blurred ad hoc. Quite the contrary, if the ELT community is conscious of the relative strengths and weaknesses of both groups and how they can complement each other in an EFL classroom, it will certainly help to create a most favourable learning environment (Medgyes, 1992: 349).

2.2.5 NESTs and NNESTs in the classroom

The fact that NESTs and NNESTs tend to approach English teaching differently has been already mentioned several times (see e.g. 2.2.3.2). It may thus be propitious now to look at these differences in more detail, as listed in Figure 4 below. The data collected by Medgyes summarise the findings of a series of surveys concerning elicited self-reports of EFL teachers on their teaching behaviour (Árva & Medgyes, 2000: 357).

	NESTs	NNESTs
<i>Use of English</i>	Speak better English	Speak poorer English
	Use real language	Use 'bookish' language
	Use English more confidently	Use English less confidently
<i>General attitude</i>	Adopt a more flexible approach	Adopt a more guided approach
	Are more innovative	Are more cautious
	Are less empathetic	Are more empathetic
	Attend to perceived needs	Attend to real needs
	Have far-fetched expectations	Have realistic expectations
	Are more casual	Are more strict
	Are less committed	Are more committed
<i>Attitude to teaching English</i>	Are less insightful	Are more insightful
	Focus on fluency, meaning, language in use, oral skills, colloquial registers	Focus on accuracy, form, grammar rules, printed word, formal registers
	Teach items in context	Teach items in isolation
	Prefer free activities	Prefer controlled activities
	Favour groupwork/pairwork	Favour frontal work
	Use a variety of materials	Use a single textbook
	Tolerate errors	Correct/punish errors
	Set fewer tests	Set more tests
	Use no/less L1	Use more L1
	Resort to no/less translation	Resort to more translation
	Assign less homework	Assign more homework
<i>Attitude to teaching culture</i>	Supply more cultural information	Supply less cultural information

Figure 4: Perceived differences in teaching behaviour between NESTs and NNESTs²⁵

Although Figure 4 demonstrates that there are a number of significant dissimilarities in the teaching style between the two groups, it should be stressed yet again that 'different' does not entail

²⁵ ÁRVA, V. & P. Medgyes (2000) 'Native and non-native teachers in the classroom'. *System* 28, p. 357.

‘better/worse’ and seeming deficiencies can actually be turned into advantages (see points a-f on page 31). On the whole, the sole fact that someone is a NES or NNEST is only one of a number of other variables (see footnote 23) that determine whether they will be successful as EFL teachers. Moreover, not all the findings were confirmed when confronted with the results of field research designed to observe actual teaching behaviour in the class, rather than rely on teachers’ self-perception. In the table above, these problematic presumptions are marked in grey.

One interesting feature which came up during the survey is that the presence of a NEST in a classroom acts as a motivating factor by virtue of using English as a genuine vehicle of communication. Surprisingly, this applies both to the students and to the NNESTs employed at the same institution. It was found out that NNEST colleagues of NESTs highly value the fact that they can constantly work on their L2 skills and thus strive for attaining native-like competence in English. The presence of NESTs in a school can in fact be seen as a form of in-service training for the NNESTs (Árva & Medgyes, 2000: 361).

2.2.5.1 Students’ perspective

Very interesting results were brought by a research study conducted by K. Kelch and E. Santana-Williamson in 2002. In this study, learners of L2 English were asked to identify NESTs and NNESTs judging by their accent and rate the two groups by using Likert scales of attitudinal preferences. The results showed that the students were able to correctly identify NESTs and NNESTs in only 45% of the cases, which is in fact slightly worse than a hit-or-miss strategy that a trained monkey would employ. However, the perception of the teachers’ nativeness proved to be strongly influencing the attitudes the students held towards them. Even though the students mentioned the importance of NNESTs as role models and source of motivation, teachers who were judged as natives were regarded as more likeable, educated, experienced, and overall as better teachers (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 327). More recent surveys have suggested that the contrast is probably less sharp though and that EFL students recognise that experience and professionalism are more important than native language background. This tendency will also be scrutinised in the analytical chapter (see 3.1).

2.2.5.2 Education authorities’ perspective

To sum up the outcomes of a number of surveys ran among education authorities such as head teachers and EFL courses’ administrators, enquiring about their hiring criteria, the question of nativeness, apart from past teaching experience, degrees in ELT, and international experience, seemed to be an important criterion for approximately 60% of the respondents. The most common justifications of those who favoured NESTs were that NNESTs have foreign accents, are over-dependent on didactic presentation of grammar, stress grammar too much, and lack self-confidence (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 328). Several respondents noted however, that these weaknesses are not exclusive to NNESTs only and that hiring a NEST is frequently politically and financially motivated because the customers demand a NEST. Though it may seem as a simple supply-and-demand

relationship, such discrimination would in fact never be tolerated if the customers demanded only male or white EFL teachers (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 329). Yet, this seemingly unfair practice prevails despite the enlightened efforts of international organisations personified by *Statement on non-native speakers of English and hiring practices* and *Resolution on discrimination*, both issued by TESOL in the last two decades²⁶.

It has already been claimed more than once throughout this paper that it is reasonable to assume that the respective teaching behaviour of NESTs and NNESTs is to some extent determined by their divergent linguistic background although there are a number of variables to be taken into account. What hasn't been pointed out yet is that this divergence seems to be the sole reason for school principals to assign NESTs with teaching almost exclusively conversational classes for higher level students and conversely, they recommend NNESTs to teach lower level classes (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 320). Necessarily, such a limited selection criterion may seem to be of dubious value since it pursues the twisted logic that more competent speakers are automatically more competent teachers (Árva & Medgyes, 2000: 364). However, less qualified in the ELT profession as they might be, NESTs usually succeed in the task for which they have been employed, i.e. they make their students communicate in English (Árva & Medgyes, 2000: 366). It can perhaps be argued that even untrained NESTs, who are in fact more skilled debaters than teachers, can be used effectively for certain teaching purposes, as long as they are commissioned to do what they do best. Yet, 'trained non-native teachers are better than untrained native ones', as Henry Sweet pithily pointed out more than a century ago (Árva & Medgyes, 2000: 369).

2.2.6 Research on NESTs/NNESTs in the Czech Republic

Before concluding the theoretical part of this paper by a brief outline of preliminary implications of the already introduced research, it is necessary to focus on the contribution of Czech ELT researchers and their treatment of the NEST/NNEST issue in the Czech context. For this reason, a number of B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. theses defended in the last decade at major Czech universities were analysed in order to filter out those that are concerned with NESTs as EFL teachers. A cursive preliminary survey of the theses' titles revealed that the topic of NESTs is not a very popular one, as opposed to ELT materials, learner variables, the use of the students' L1 in an EFL classroom, and the burnout syndrome in ELT, which largely prevailed.

Notwithstanding the initial modest expectations regarding the number of theses dedicated to this topic, the actual results of this search were almost shocking. The number of papers concerning NESTs was unprecedentedly low as there are in fact only six theses that in some degree elaborate on the NEST/NNEST question. However, out of these six, only one of them (Větrovcová's *The Native Speaker English Teacher in the Czech Republic*) is entirely dedicated to this issue, while the remaining five papers include more or less extensive chapters related to the matter of NESTs/NNESTs. It is a

²⁶ <http://www.tesol.org/advance-the-field/member-resolutions>

pity that most of these chapters are rather schematic and limited to the sole definition of a native speaker adapted from an authoritative text. Additionally, the problematic aspects of the NES/NNES categories are largely neglected in most of these texts (Jančová, 2010; Sedláčková, 2005; Špatková, 2007). The remaining two Ph.D. theses (Gabrielová, 2010; Quinn-Novotná, 2012) both deal with the issue of world Englishes and the ELF phenomenon and have already been quoted in the respective part of this paper (see 2.2.2).

Promising as it may be, Větrovcová's paper is rather scholastic and delves into the socio-cultural issues such as the motivation for teaching in the Czech Republic, overcoming the cultural shock and bridging cultural differences. The analytical part then explores the background and qualification of NESTs, as well as their attitudes towards Czech EFL learners and Czech education system as such. It was decided not to follow the same direction in this paper because it is believed that a similar study would not shed much light on the systemic characteristics of the Czech ELT practice. Nevertheless, it is quite sensible to enquire about the number and characteristics of the NESTs currently teaching at Czech schools.

Gabrielová states that according to latest surveys, there is in fact only a very limited number of NESTs working at primary and secondary state schools. However, in the domain of adult learning and commercial language schools, the number of NESTs is considerably higher (Gabrielová, 2010: 88). It is a pertaining trend that in the Czech context, a NEST is still considered to be a better teacher and a more authentic model. The faulty logic of such notion has already been discussed (see e.g. 2.2.4) but what has not been mentioned yet is that the majority of NESTs teaching in Czech schools are participants of one-month TEFL courses often lacking any other linguistic or pedagogical background (Větrovcová, 2010: 26). Figure 5 presents the percentage of NESTs at Czech state schools as introduced by the report of the Czech School Inspectorate (CSI) analysing foreign language education at state schools between the years 2006 and 2009. This data is contrasted with most recent findings summarised in the CSI annual report for the school year 2011/2012.

	Percentage of NESTs	
	2006 - 2009 ²⁷	2011 - 2012 ²⁸
<i>Primary schools</i>	2.2%	3.1%
<i>Grammar schools</i>	2.3%	5.5%
<i>Other secondary schools</i>	0.1%	

Figure 5: Percentage of NESTs at Czech state schools

²⁷ Česká školní inspekce (2010) *Souhrnné poznatky o podpoře a rozvoji výuky CJ v předškolním, základním a středním vzdělávání v období let 2006-2009*, p. 8.

²⁸ Česká školní inspekce (2012) *Výroční zpráva ČŠI za školní rok 2011/2012*, p. 80.

It is obvious that the numbers are indeed very low and it should also be pointed out that the majority of NESTs teach in Prague and a few other big cities. Though even in the case of Prague, NESTs represent only 2% of the total number of EFL teachers. Even though the number of NESTs has recently been growing, according to CSI the proportion of NESTs in state education has dropped dramatically since the 1990s and the current number of NESTs at Czech state schools remains almost imperceptible (Česká školní inspekce, 2010: 16).

Unfortunately, apart from the data mentioned, the CSI reports are not of much value as they are not concerned with the percentage of NESTs at private schools and rather laconically observe that the presence of a NEST is a considerable motivational factor for both the learners and other teachers because it greatly enhances communicative use of English and supports the idea of a multicultural community (Česká školní inspekce, 2010: 9 & Česká školní inspekce, 2012: 86). This is why the present paper strives to complement the CSI data with a survey targeted on commercial language schools (see 3.2), which however limited in its scale may allow formulating at least some practical recommendations instead of a perfunctory description of the status quo.

2.2.7 Preliminary implications and recommendations

Based on the previously mentioned approaches to the multilayered issue of NESTs and NNESTs, certain recommendations can already be outlined in order to give all the necessary tools to EFL teachers, be it NESs or NNESTs, so that they are able to meet the expectations of their students.

First of all, it is highly desirable that TEFL preparation programmes should be specifically designed to suit the needs of both NESs and NNESTs. Such tailor-made courses should ensure that not only will the participants be pedagogically prepared for their teaching practice, but also that they will become aware of their strengths and weaknesses as NESs or NNESTs. Furthermore, they will learn to collaborate with each other to offer the best they can, which would be particularly important for NESTs working in countries where English does not have a dominant position and where NNESTs have a distinct advantage (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 331).

Considering the position that English occupies in today's world and the fact that globalisation constantly shapes language curriculums and attitudes to L2 learning, it is remarkable that the myth of the native speaker still holds strong among students and teachers alike. On the other hand though, numerous studies have demonstrated that NNESTs are not seen in a negative light and that exposing EFL students to various English accents and cultures can only be beneficial to them. Especially to the younger generation of EFL learners, whose knowledge, or lack of knowledge, of English to a great extent determines their position in society. Taking into account all the changes in the use of English today (see 2.2.1), it is doubtful that EFL teaching should be restricted to one or two varieties of the language. Quite the contrary, it seems crucial to present EFL students with a large array of English varieties represented by teachers from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds and subsequently let

the students decide for themselves what is relevant to their particular experience and context (Moussu & Llurda, 2008: 331).

Furthermore, investigations of hiring practices, personal beliefs and administrative procedures of school principals, as well as the study of the beliefs and experience of L2 students would certainly prove valuable. That is why the analytical part of this thesis attempts to perceive these phenomena by the means of a joint quantitative-qualitative study aimed at delimiting the role of NESTs in the Czech education environment.

3 Analytical part

As mentioned in the opening section of this paper, the analytical part is based on a two-fold quantitative-qualitative study. The principal aim of both types of research is to describe the experience and expectations of native English-speaker teachers' students (the quantitative part of this research) and employers (the qualitative part) in the Czech context. The idea is that the insights provided by the qualitative study would complement the quantitative research findings related to a set of preliminary hypotheses. Although it is impossible to achieve absolute objectivity in the field of social sciences, the degree of objectivity granted by the quantitative part should combine perfectly with the detailed perspective obtained within a qualitative paradigm (Moussu & Llorca, 2008: 332). The outcomes of the two research branches will initially be presented separately and in the last section of the analytical part, a large-scale generalisation based on the fusion of the findings from both types of the joint research will be attempted (see Conclusion).

3.1 Part 1: Questionnaire

The quantitative part of this study is represented by a questionnaire distributed electronically to students of the Practical Language module, a compulsory course for first-year students of the B. A. programme *English and American Studies* (EAS) taught at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague. It was decided to aim the questionnaire at advanced learners of English simply because of the premise that advanced learners of English are likely to have encountered both NESTs and NNESTs at various stages of their studies. In addition, the large amount of time and effort they had to invest into obtaining an advanced L2 level should enable them to evaluate objectively the role that NESTs have played in this process. The target group of first-year students of EAS was then chosen because their advanced level of English can be easily verified by the fact that all of them had successfully passed rather challenging entrance exams in English. Since the present paper is predominantly concerned with the position of NESTs at secondary state schools and language schools rather than in the university context, the questionnaire was administered towards the end of the first semester in order to minimise the potential influence of a university setting, which may in the long run considerably skew the results as a number of courses in the EAS curriculum are taught by NESTs.

The questionnaire consisted of 31 questions, most of which were multiple-choice or Likert scale questions. The questionnaire was administered via the Moodle e-learning online platform during December 2012 and participation in the research was strictly voluntary and all responses were anonymous. In total, 49 completed questionnaires were collected, which represents 49.5% of all Practical Language students in the academic year 2011/2012, and consequently of EAS first-year students in general. The actual format of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1: The questionnaire template and data.

3.1.1 Preliminary hypotheses

The questionnaire was intended to test a set of preliminary hypotheses, some of which have already been introduced in the theoretical part of this paper (see 2.2.4). Among the hypotheses are also some of those introduced in Medgyes (1992)²⁹, listed below under 6 to 9.

- 1) Learners believe that NESTs are not suitable for low-level classes, i.e. A1 – A2.
- 2) NESTs differ from NNESTs in the way they teach English.
- 3) Lessons taught by NESTs are more efficient and their students believe that they learn more within a shorter period of time.
- 4) Learners believe that attending lessons taught by NESTs is the only way a non-native learner can achieve a native-like L2 competence.
- 5) Learners believe that native English competence is attainable.
- 6) NNESTs can serve as imitable models of successful learners of English.
- 7) Native speakers can provide learners with more information about the English language.
- 8) NNESTs are more able to predict language difficulties.
- 9) NNESTs are more empathetic to the needs and problems of their learners.
- 10) EFL teachers should have some knowledge of the learners' L1.
- 11) Methodological training is essential for both NESTs and NNESTs.
- 12) NESTs are more valued than NNESTs.

Each of these hypotheses relates to a different part of the questionnaire, which can for the sake of convenience be divided into three subsections, i.e. respondent profile, experience with NESTs, and beliefs about NESTs.

3.1.2 Respondent profile

This section deals with the first eight questions that were designed to describe the key characteristics of the respondents in relation to the topic of the survey. Responses to the initial set of questions allow grouping the respondents according to a number of variables which will prove to be especially useful in the cross-comparisons of some of these variables later on in this chapter. The answers to the opening eight questions are lucidly summarised in Figure 6 below.

Question	Response	Number of responses	Percentage
Q1 - Age	18 - 20	33	67%
	21 - 25	15	31%
	Over 26	1	2%
Q2 - Gender	Male	11	22%
	Female	38	78%

²⁹ (Medgyes, 1992: 347 - 348)

Q3 - First Language	Czech	36	74%
	Russian	6	12%
	Slovak	3	6%
	English	1	2%
	Polish	1	2%
	Chinese	1	2%
	Bulgarian	1	2%
Q4 – How long have you been learning English?	less than 5 years	2	4%
	5 – 10 years	19	39%
	10 – 15 years	23	47%
	more than 15 years	5	10%
Q5 – What is your current level of English?	lower than C1	5	10%
	C1	25	51%
	C1+	13	27%
	C2	5	10%
	bilingual	1	2%
Q6 – When speaking English, you would like the audience to believe that you are a native speaker.	strongly agree	13	26.6%
	agree	20	40.8%
	undecided	5	10.2%
	disagree	10	20.4%
	strongly disagree	1	2%
Q7 – Which aspect(s) of your English do you consider native-like?	vocabulary	2	4%
	pronunciation	7	14%
	grammar	6	12%
	listening	10	20%
	speaking	3	6%
	writing	4	8%
	reading	1	2%
	none	17	35%
Q8 – Have you ever been taught English by a NEST?	for less than a year	17	35%
	for 1 – 5 years	25	51%
	for 5 – 10 years	3	6%
	I've been taught by NESTs only.	1	2%
	No, never.	3	6%

Figure 6: Respondent profile (Q1 to Q8)

It should be pointed out that the first part of the questionnaire was purely designed to shed some light on the respondents' background and as such, it does not particularly test any of the

hypotheses mentioned in section 3.1.1. However, it may prove useful to extrapolate the characteristics of a typical participant of this research. It can be seen at a glance that according to the percentage representation of particular responses, the ‘average’ respondent was an 18-to-20-year-old female whose mother tongue is Czech and who has been learning English at least half of her life, a fact which allowed her to obtain a proficient level in English (C1 – C1+). For a certain period of time, she was also taught by a NEST. In addition, she sees at least some features of her L2 knowledge, namely listening skills, grammar and pronunciation, as native-like and she also wishes to be considered a native speaker when she uses English.

Last but not least, answers to Q6 and Q7 in a sense foreshadow the truth value of hypothesis 5), although this will be discussed more rigorously in the appropriate subchapter (see 3.1.4). Responses to Q6 show that native-speaker competence represents the target for the majority of learners (67.4%) and that NESTs serve as models for L2 learners. This tendency is in fact not in accordance with the claim of ELF proponents who argue that a native speaker should not be a model for L2 learners (see 2.2.2). Q7 has shown that since most respondents state that they have achieved native-like proficiency in some areas of English, they believe that native-like L2 competence is attainable. This conviction sharply contrasts with some of the theories presented in the theoretical chapter, e.g. the ‘glass wall’ theory (see 2.2.3.1). Nevertheless, whether this is due to excessive self-assurance on the part of the respondents or due to the persisting absence of a tangible definition of native competence, is open to interpretation.

3.1.3 Experience with NESTs

The middle part of the questionnaire, i.e. questions 9 to 14, is concerned with personal experience of the respondents with NESTs. The data gathered in the second and the third part of the questionnaire will predominantly be presented in bar charts, such as Figure 7 below.

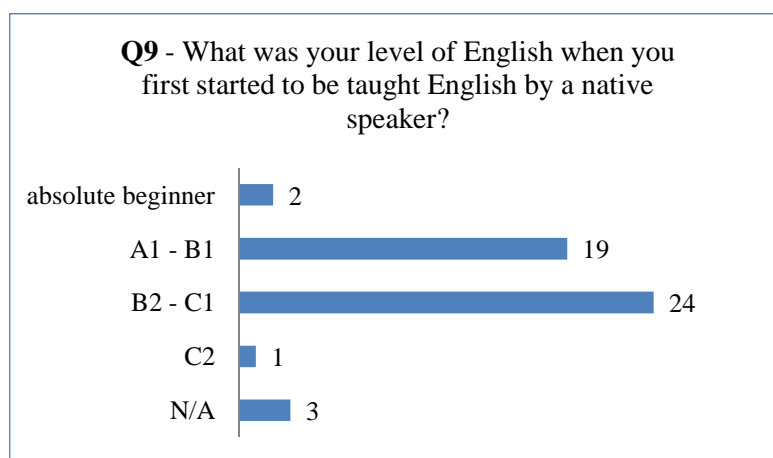


Figure 7: Q9 - What was your level of English when you first started to be taught English by a native speaker?

Figure 7 shows that the majority of respondents (49%) first started attending lessons taught by a NEST when their English was already of an intermediate level. Quite unsurprisingly, only 4% of all respondents attended classes with a NEST from the very beginning of their English learning process. The last column labelled N/A marks the 6% of the respondents who in Q8 indicated that they have never been taught by a NEST (see Figure 6).

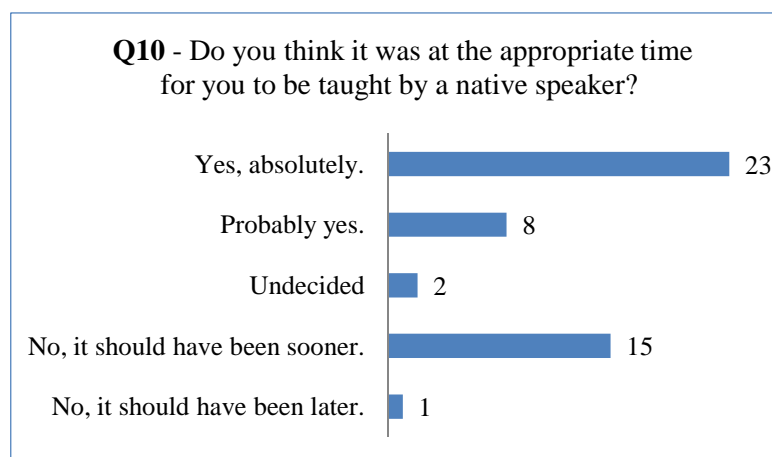


Figure 8: Q10 - Do you think it was at the appropriate time for you to be taught by a native speaker?

It is obvious that most respondents (46.9%) have no doubts as regards the right timing of their first encounter with a NEST. Interestingly, almost every third participant (30.6%) would prefer to have started with classes taught by a NEST earlier than it actually happened. This in fact corresponds to the findings presented in Figure 7. A fact also worth noting is the one respondent who would have preferred to postpone her first encounter with a NEST. By a cross-comparison with the responses to the previous question, it can be seen that at Q9 this person answered 'A1 – B1'.

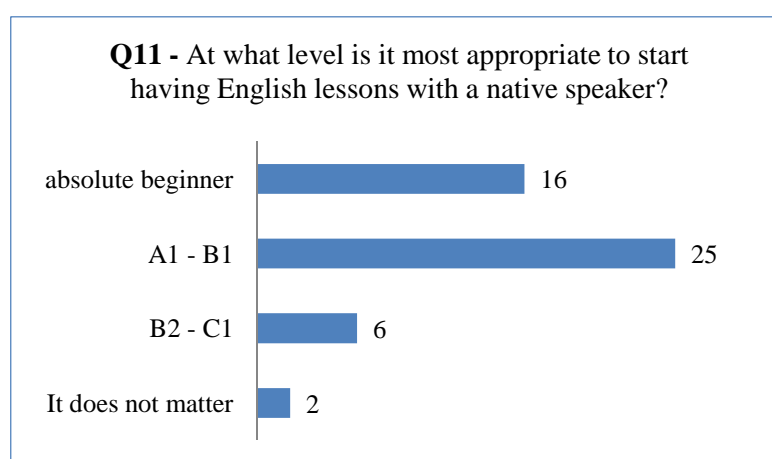


Figure 9: Q11 - At what level is it most appropriate to start having English lessons with a native speaker?

Again, a neat correlation with the previous questions can be seen in the response pattern for Q11, where 51% of the respondents identify the lower levels A1 – B1 as most appropriate for the

transition to classes with NESTs. A notable fact is that 33% of the respondents think that classes with NESTs should be implemented from the very beginning of one's L2 learning.

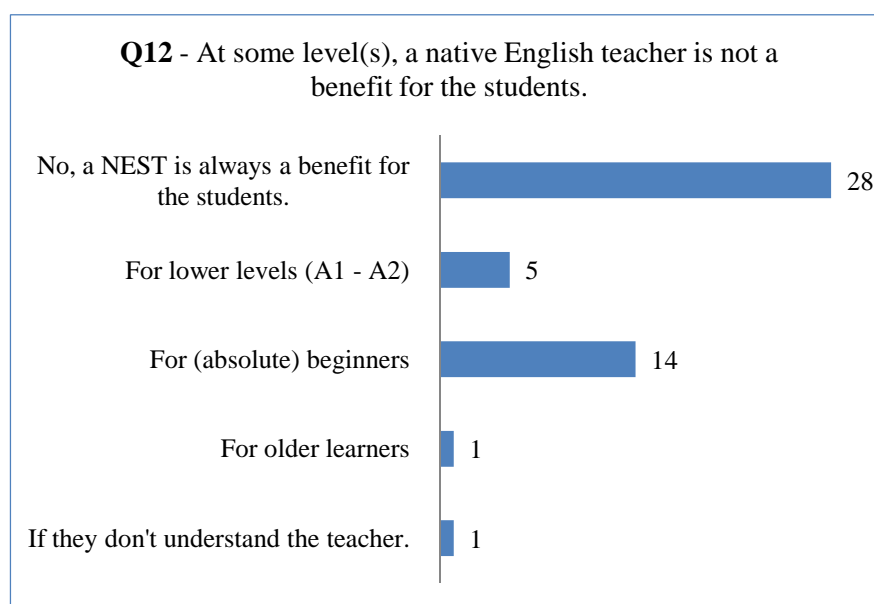


Figure 10: Q12 - At some level(s), a native English teacher is not a benefit for the students.

The open-ended Q12 is directly linked to hypothesis 1), stating that learners are convinced that NESTs are not suitable for learners with a lower L2 level, i.e. A1 – A2. Nevertheless, the data do not seem to confirm this hypothesis, since 57% of the respondents stated that a NEST is always a benefit for the students, regardless of their L2 level. More respondents (29%) in fact believe that a NEST is not very suitable for learners who have no prior knowledge of English, i.e. for absolute beginners. Since only 10% of the respondents answered that a NEST is not beneficial for lower-level learners, the first hypothesis must be refused as invalid.

Yet, it may still be interesting to look more closely at the two answers which were each given by 2% of the respondents and which thus stand apart from the ‘mainstream’ answers. The literal responses were: *‘Maybe in the case of older students who adapt to a foreign language with greater difficulties? This being the case that the native speaker does not speak any Czech.’* And: *‘If they do not understand anything he [= the NEST] says.’*

Both answers point to the necessity of the teacher and the learners sharing a common language, preferably the learners’ mother tongue. The latter answer might also be interpreted as describing a situation when the NEST speaks some uncommon or highly regional variety of English, e.g. Scouse, which may turn to be quite problematic for learners who are only used to standard varieties. Therefore, these learners do not necessarily have to be beginners. Both these answers anticipate a set of questions further on in the questionnaire and they will be paid attention to at the appropriate point of this chapter. This is also the case of the reasons for a NEST not being suitable for certain learners, which are treated at the end of section 3.1.4.

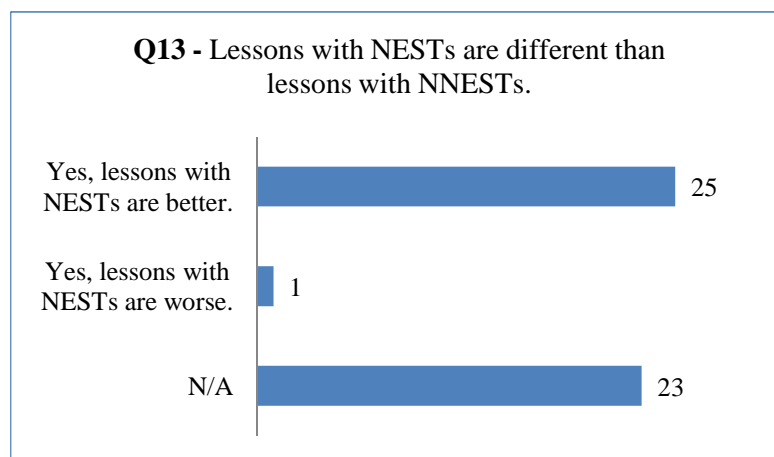


Figure 11: Q13 - Lessons with NESTs are different than lessons with NNESTs.

The aim of Q13 is to test whether students perceive any differences in the way NESTs and NNESTs teach and whether these differences are decisive as regards the perceived quality of the lessons. In other words, Q13 is related to hypothesis 2). It can be seen from Figure 11 that a slight majority of the respondents (53%) think that lessons taught by NESTs differ from lessons taught by NNESTs. In addition, almost all (96.2%) of those who indicated that classes with NESTs are dissimilar to classes with NNESTs are convinced that lessons with NESTs are better.

Nevertheless, the overall proportion of 53% as opposed to 47% in favour of the affirmative answer is not very decisive, especially if the unquestionable ambiguity of the 'N/A' category is taken into account. Since Q13 lacks a fourth option, i.e. 'No, lessons with NESTs and NNESTs are the same', the respondents who wanted to disagree with the title statement, those who have never been taught by a NEST, and also the undecided ones were forced to select the N/A option, which consequently encompasses three quite distinct opinions. It must be admitted that Q13 is, among other things³⁰, a sacrifice to the absence of a pilot survey preceding the actual questionnaire. However, a cross-comparison with Q8 shows that two of the three respondents who have never been taught by a NEST selected 'N/A' at Q13 and the remaining one person selected the first option, i.e. 'lessons with NESTs are better'. This person unfortunately understood Q13 as enquiring about her beliefs concerning NESTs, rather than her actual experience.

To sum up, even though there is a perceivable tendency that hypothesis 2) is valid, it is not possible to determine its truth-value unequivocally. Regrettably, this is predominantly due to the faulty structuring of Q13.

³⁰ For the summary of problematic points concerning the questionnaire see section 3.1.5.

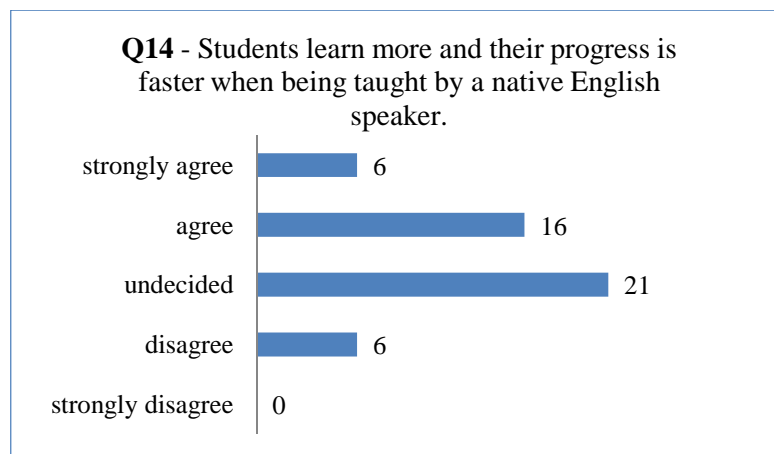


Figure 12: Q14 - Students learn more and their progress is faster when being taught by a native English speaker.

The last query in the block of questions dedicated to learner experience with NESTs tests hypothesis 3), which concerns the amount of L2 learnt within a certain time. With a combined frequency of 44.9%, the ratio is slightly in favour of those who agree with the title statement though the proportion of undecided respondents is almost equal (42.9%). Interestingly, 12.2% of learners strongly agreed with the title statement, as opposed to the opposite pole of the scale, i.e. strong disagreement, advocated by no one. Even though hypothesis 3) could not be either conclusively confirmed or rejected, Q13 revealed a certain trend apparent in the whole block of the queries regarding learner experience with NESTs. Although it can be described as a largely positive experience with NESTs, this positive evaluation is by no means at the expense of NNESTs, who are predominantly perceived as equal to their native colleagues.

3.1.4 Beliefs about NESTs

The remaining and major part of the questionnaire focuses on the beliefs held by advanced L2 learners about NESTs. The third part of the questionnaire also relates to the majority of the hypotheses mentioned in 3.1.1, i.e. points 4 to 13. Unfortunately, similarly to the previous section of the questionnaire, neither this part was spared certain problematic aspects, which will be discussed in more detail in 3.1.5.

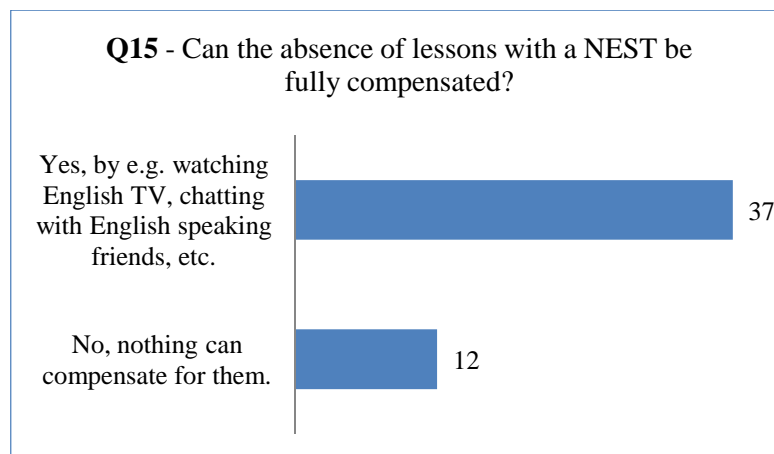


Figure 13: Q15 - Can the absence of lessons with a NEST be fully compensated?

The number of respondents who believe that a NEST is only one of the means of achieving a very advanced level in English is slightly more than three times bigger than the number of respondents who see NESTs as an indispensable factor in the successful conquer of the proverbial ‘glass wall’ dividing near-native competence from the upper levels of L2 competence (see 2.2.3.1). The percentage representation of the two groups is 76% against 24%, which should be sufficient to discard hypothesis 4), stating that most learners believe that attending lessons taught by NESTs is the only way a non-native learner can achieve a native-like L2 competence. Nevertheless, this hypothesis is also linked to Q16 which is why its validity will not be conclusively judged at this point.

Additionally, it is not without interest that the majority of the proponents of the view that classes with NESTs cannot be compensated for by anything else are typically learners who have been taught by NESTs for less than 5 years (10 respondents out of 12; see Q8). It may thus be tempting to claim that the shorter the time learners are exposed to NESTs, the greater their esteem of NESTs. However, the sample is unfortunately a way too small to allow such definitive conclusions.

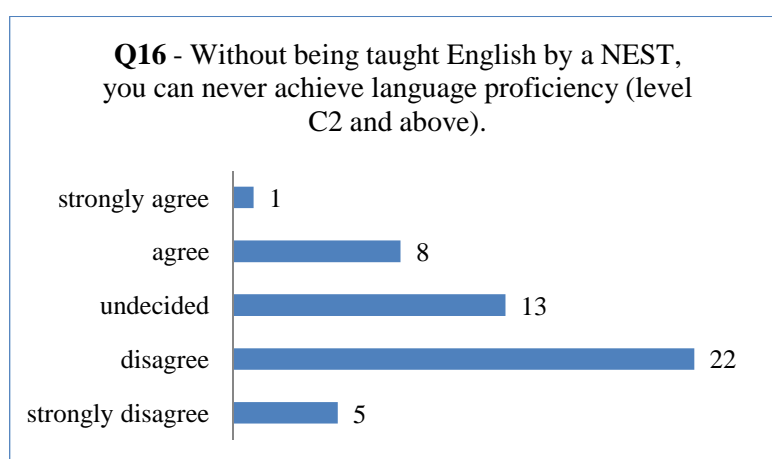


Figure 14: Q16 - Without being taught English by a NEST, you can never achieve language proficiency (level C2 and above).

Q16 directly questions the indispensability of NESTs for a successful mastery of L2 English. As demonstrated by Figure 14, the majority of learners believe that L2 proficiency can be achieved even without attending classes taught by NESTs. The percentage of respondents who (strongly) disagree with the statement under Q16 is 55.1% and thus considerably outnumbers those who (strongly) agree with the statement (18.3%). However, there is also a considerably large group of undecided respondents (26.5%).

The findings of Q15 and Q16 reveal that the working hypothesis stating that most learners are convinced that L2 proficiency cannot be achieved without the aid of NESTs does not reflect reality. Quite the contrary, since most respondents indicated that L2 proficiency is not pivoted on classes with NESTs, hypothesis 4) must be refused as invalid.

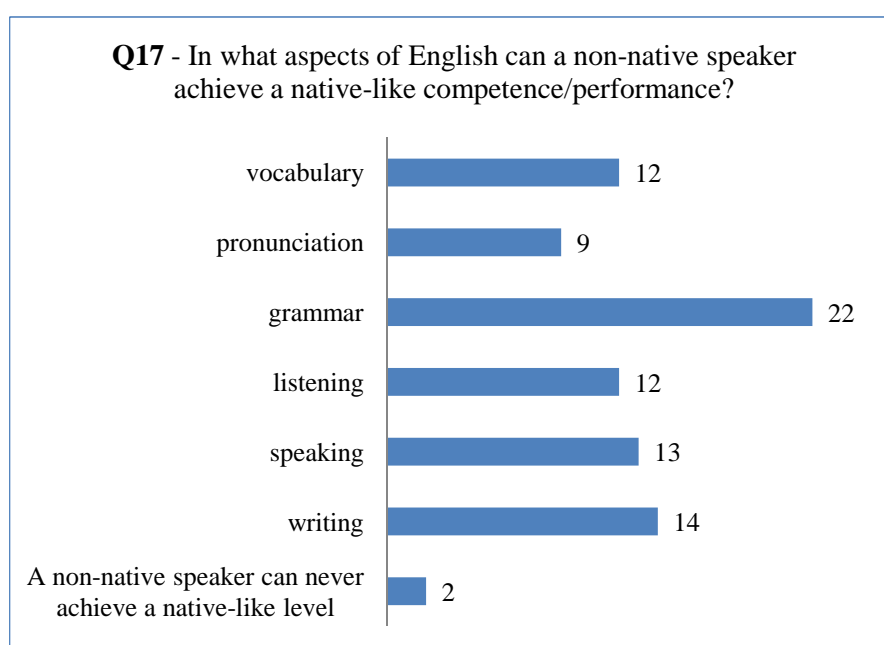


Figure 15: Q17 - In what aspects of English can a non-native speaker achieve a native-like competence/performance?

Q17 allowed the respondents to mark either the last answer, i.e. ‘A non-native speaker can never achieve a native-like proficiency’, or one or more of the six previous answers, i.e. vocabulary, grammar, etc. This is why the overall sum of the respondents at individual answers exceeds the total number of participants, i.e. 49.

Since Q17 is concerned with hypothesis 5), assuming that learners believe in the attainability of native-like L2 competence, those respondents who chose at least one of the first six answers can be regarded as confirming this hypothesis. A brief look at Figure 15 hints that almost all learners (96%) are convinced that native-like performance is accessible to non-native speakers in at least some, if not all aspects of language. Hypothesis 5) can thus be proclaimed as valid.

Q18 - Who would you choose as your potential English teacher?	
	Average rank
(1) a certified teacher from the UK/USA	1.2
(2) a certified teacher from the Czech Republic	2.5
(3) a certified teacher from South Africa	3.1
(4) a certified teacher from India	3.9
(5) a shop assistant from the UK/USA	4.3

Figure 16: Q18 - Who would you choose as your potential English teacher?

Figure 16 presents the data from Q18 which asked the respondents to order the answers according to preference. The table above shows top-to-bottom the average resulting preference for each option (number 1 being the most preferred and number 5 the least preferred teacher).

Even though Q18 does not directly relate to any hypothesis, it reveals important facts about learner preference. First of all, it is obvious that qualification is superior to mere nativeness which is in fact in accordance with the micro-survey ran by Medgyes among ELT scholars (see 2.2.4). The second feature outlined by Figure 16 is that certified Czech teachers were most often picked as a second choice after NESTs from the UK/USA. This could be due to the fact that most respondents have Czech as their L1 (see Figure 6) and would thus appreciate if their teacher shared the same language with them. Such interpretation would be close to hypothesis 10), which will however be properly treated further on in this section.

The third position for a South African teacher could be interpreted as either a lack of familiarity with South African English on the part of the respondents, or as their belief that some NESTs, i.e. British and American, are ‘better’ than others. The ranking of teachers from India may again suggest lack of familiarity with Indian English but it can also point to the fact that apart from their professional qualification, Indian speakers cannot offer either nativeness or a shared L1, i.e. Czech. It would thus seem that even though the nativeness criterion is not decisive for the ‘informed learners’, i.e. for learners who are familiar with the L2 variety of their L2 teacher, it may be a considerably more important criterion for the ‘uninformed learners’, such as Czech learners of English, who are usually not familiar with Indian EFL teachers. Nevertheless, since this point has not been further pursued by the questionnaire, the conclusion remains purely speculative and would deserve a more rigorous research.

Q19 - Who would you recommend as an English teacher to someone who is a complete beginner in English?	
	Average rank
(1) a certified teacher speaking with an RP/GA accent	1.3
(2) a certified teacher speaking with a Czech accent	2.8
(3) a certified teacher speaking with a Scottish accent	3.5
(4) a receptionist speaking with an RP/GA accent	3.8
(5) a certified teacher speaking with a Cockney accent	4.4

(6) a certified teacher speaking with a Pakistani accent	5.2
--	-----

Figure 17: Q19 - Who would you recommend as an English teacher to someone who is a complete beginner in English?

Q19 uses a paradigm similar to Q18, although this time the respondents were asked to order the given list of potential EFL teachers according to their suitability for an absolute beginner (mark 1 would again mean the first choice and mark 6 the last choice). Analogically to Q18, the responses to Q19 also support the superiority of qualification over nativeness, as well as a prominent position of teachers who share the same mother tongue with their students.

The assigned preferences also suggest the fact that the respondents perceive some native accents as less suitable for a beginner L2 learner, i.e. Scottish and Cockney, despite the fact that as advanced learners, they would often welcome the opportunity to *‘choose someone with strong “interesting” accent rather than RP speaker to get used to other accents’*, as one respondent wrote in the commentary. However, for a beginner learner, these accents might be too difficult to understand, even though there is also the possibility that accents such as Cockney and Pakistani English may be seen as substandard or less prestigious. Nevertheless, since the questionnaire did not require the respondents to justify their choice, this reasoning is again more of a conjecture.

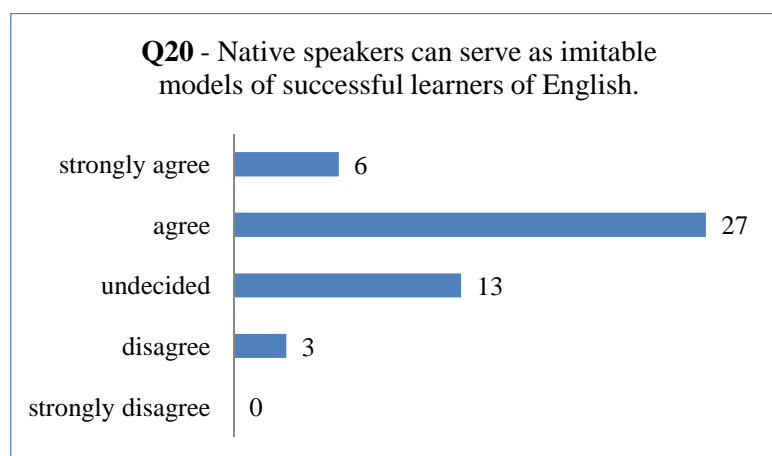


Figure 18: Q20 - Native speakers can serve as imitable models of successful learners of English.

Q20 is the first query designed to test one of the six hypotheses regarding NNESTs, introduced by Medgyes (Medgyes, 1992: 347) and listed previously in section 2.2.4 and once again at the beginning of the analytical chapter (see 3.1.1). In the questionnaire, these hypotheses were reformulated from the perspective of NESTs and presented as statements which the respondents were asked to evaluate, using a Likert scale. Q20 then concerns hypothesis 6): ‘NNESTs can serve as imitable models of the successful learner of English.’

The results presented in Figure 18 suggest that learners’ view does not concur with Medgyes’s claim. Quite the contrary, since the joint frequency of those who accept the statement in Q20 is 67.3%, as opposed to only 6.2% of those who think the statement is not plausible, the hypothesis must be

considered invalid. However, it should be noted that 26.5% of the respondents remained undecided, which could have been caused by the rather complex wording of the statement as well as its somewhat abstract and vague nature.

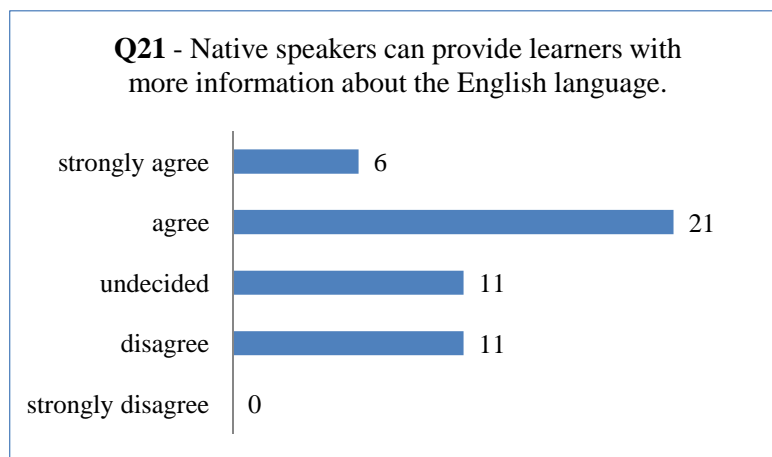


Figure 19: Q21 - Native speakers can provide learners with more information about the English language.

The validity of hypothesis 7) is the focus of Q21. Again, the ratio is slightly in favour of those who agree with the statement (55.2%), although unlike Q20, there is a higher percentage of respondents who disagree with the title statement (22.4%) and consequently, there is a lower number of undecided participants (22.4%). The data thus show that hypothesis 7) cannot be accepted.

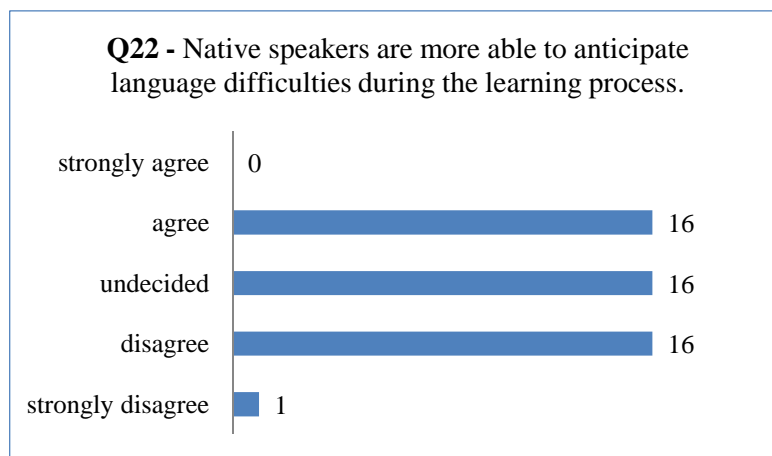


Figure 20: Q22 - Native speakers are more able to anticipate language difficulties during the learning process.

The third hypothesis adapted from Medgyes is the topic of Q22. Here, the data are quite unlike any of the previous figures as the responses are remarkably balanced around the centre of the Likert scale. In spite of the fact that the advocates of the title statement are in a tight minority (32.7% against 34.7%), an equal number of respondents (32.7%) do not have a clear opinion of this issue. Thus, the truth value of hypothesis 8) cannot be conclusively decided on the basis of the data gathered.

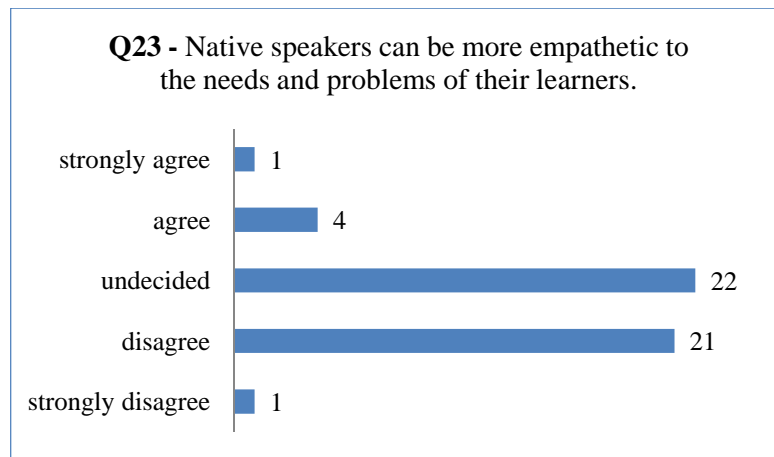


Figure 21: Q23 - Native speakers can be more empathetic to the needs and problems of their learners.

Similarly to the previous queries implementing Medgyes's hypotheses, Q23 shows a large proportion of undecided respondents (44.9%). However, the contrast between the remaining participants who could decide on the topic demonstrates a clear dominance of the negative stance (44.9% against 10.2%). This provides a strong clue for the acceptance of hypothesis 9), although it should be yet more thoroughly tested in a future research.

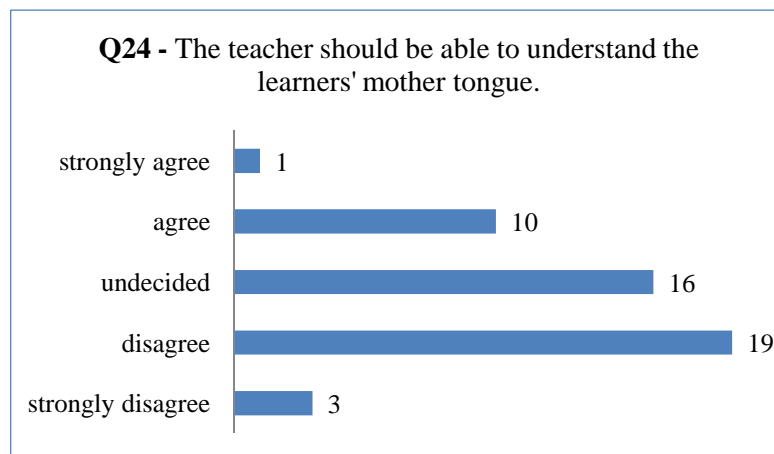


Figure 22: Q24 - The teacher should be able to understand the learners' mother tongue.

Q24 is the last one which works with a hypothesis adopted from Medgyes. In the case of Q24, the title statement has been reformulated in order to be more general, as opposed to the original: 'NNESTs can largely benefit from sharing the learners' mother tongue.' If the already encountered high number of undecided respondents (32.7%) is put aside, it is obvious that most learners (44.9%) believe that knowledge of the learners' L1 is not necessary for an EFL teacher. Hypothesis 10) can hence be rejected as invalid.

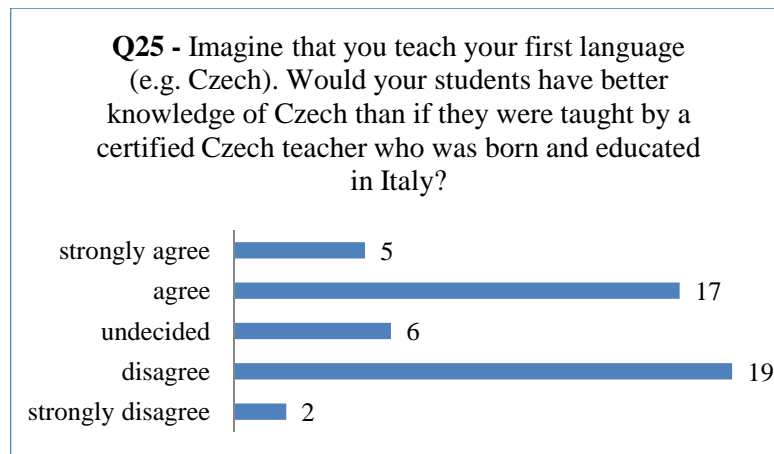


Figure 23: Q25 - Imagine that you teach your first language (e.g. Czech). Would your students have better knowledge of Czech than if they were taught by a certified Czech teacher who was born and educated in Italy?

Q25, and in fact Q26 as well, was included in the questionnaire as a control question that should once more check upon the validity of the claim that qualified non-native teachers can be equally successful in the teaching profession as qualified native speakers, and in fact even more successful than unqualified native-speaker teachers (see also p. 30). Nevertheless, the responses manifest a great diversity of opinions of this issue and in absolute frequencies, more respondents (44.9%) think that they would be more competent teachers of their L1 than certified non-native teachers. Those who disagree with this claim were nonetheless almost equally numerous (42.9%). Such diverse response-pattern may however be attributed to the vagueness of the concept of ‘better knowledge of Czech’ and it may well be the case that Figure 23 would present considerably different results if the query had been more specific, e.g. ‘better knowledge of Czech vocabulary/grammar/idioms/etc.’

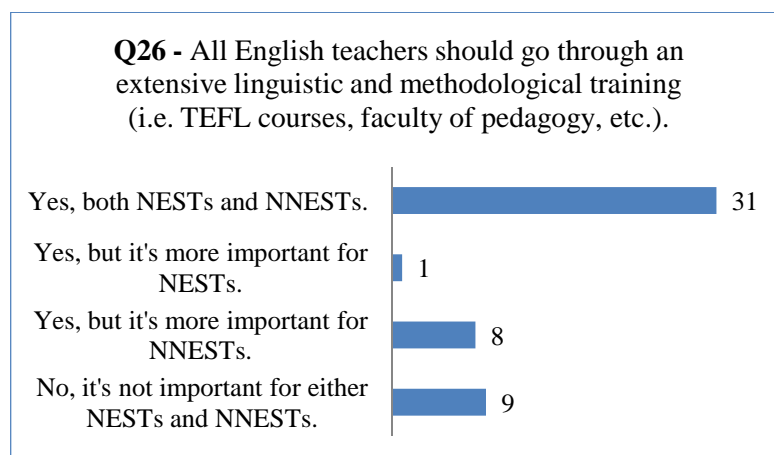


Figure 24: Q26 - All English teachers should go through an extensive linguistic and methodological training (i.e. TEFL courses, faculty of pedagogy, etc.).

The data in Figure 24 show that universal desirability of professional training is perceived by most respondents (63%), even though there are quite a few participants who are convinced of its complete redundancy (18%). What is more interesting though is the number of respondents who

believe that undergoing a professional training is more necessary for NNESTs (16%) than for NESTs (2%). This may to some extent reveal that learners tend to see NNESTs as somehow deficient in comparison to NESTs and that this deficiency could be remedied by the means of a teacher-training course. This can be seen as a resonance of the notion of dissimilar English competence discussed in the theoretical chapter (see 2.2.3.2). In relation to hypothesis 11), the data proved the validity of the supposition that learners regard methodological training to be essential for both NESTs and NNESTs.

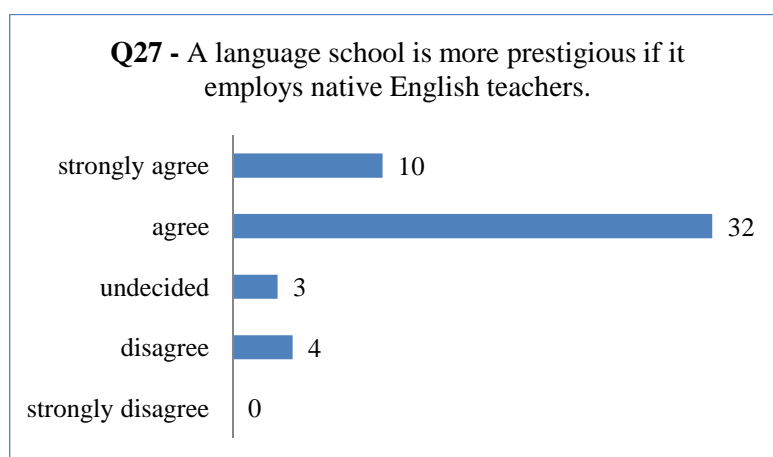


Figure 25: Q27 - A language school is more prestigious if it employs native English teachers.

Q27 and Q28 are concerned with the status of NESTs in the domain of commercial language schools, and as such are precursors to the second part of the analysis (see 3.2). In addition, they are also linked to the last hypothesis, i.e. hypothesis 12), stating that NESTs are more valued than NNESTs.

According to Figure 25, it is clear that an overwhelming majority of learners (85.7%) directly relate the presence of NESTs in a language school to its prestige. Since only 8.2% of the participants disagreed, there is a strong possibility that hypothesis 12) is valid, even though this will be conclusively decided after Q28 has been discussed.

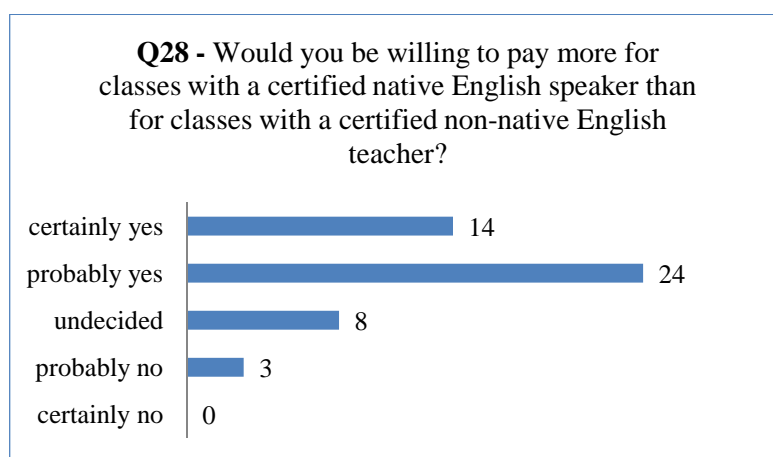


Figure 26: Q28 - Would you be willing to pay more for classes with a certified native English speaker than for classes with a certified non-native English teacher?

The tendency that learners ascribe higher prestige to NESTs is apparent in Q28, where 77.6% of the participants indicated that they would be ready to pay more money for a lesson with a NEST than with a NNEST. It is thus obvious that even though learners perceive NESTs and NNESTs as equal, given that they possess a relevant teaching qualification, NESTs are proverbially more equal than NNESTs at least as regards their salary. Nevertheless, to what extent is this phenomenon based on some nebulous decisive feature that NESTs possess, or on the deeply rooted practice of many Czech language schools depicting NESTs as an added value which in many cases goes hand-in-hand with added costs, remains indeterminate. Suffice it to say that based on Q27 and Q28, hypothesis 12) turns out to be accurate.

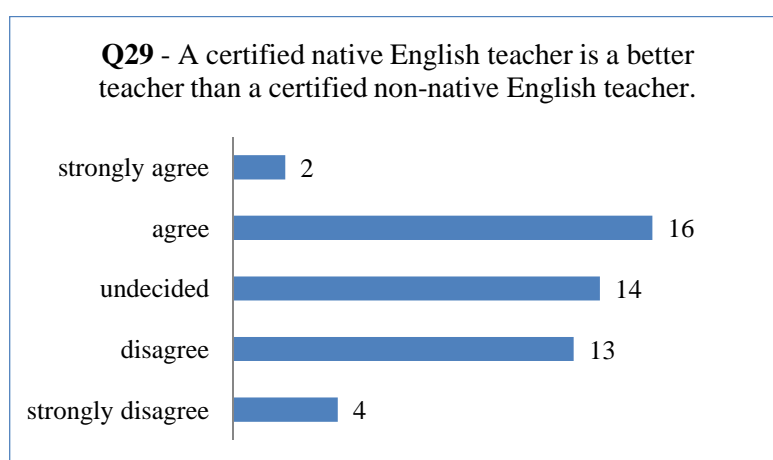


Figure 27: Q29 - A certified native English teacher is a better teacher than a certified non-native English teacher.

The aim of Q29 is in fact to summarise the last third of the questionnaire by focussing on the issue that has been underlying the questionnaire as a whole. Yet, similarly to other controversial topics that have already been introduced (e.g. Q16 or Q21 - 23), the results of Q29 are again inconclusive.

The combined absolute frequency of the proponents of the superiority of NESTs is 36.8%, which is almost similar to the proportion of learners who refuse the NEST dominance (34.7%). A cross-comparison with Q13, i.e. 'Lessons with NESTs are different than lessons with non-native English teachers,' showed a great degree of correlation between those respondents who answered that lessons with NESTs are better, with those who agreed with the statement in Q29. Despite the fact that in contrast to Q13, there was a certain degree of haphazardness perceivable in the answers to Q29 (these may be ascribed to the fact that by Q29, the respondents might have felt a little worn out by the length of the questionnaire), it seems that the learners may have subconscious preference for NEST even though externally they try to appear objective. However, such claim would inevitably trespass on psychology, which is by no means the aim of this questionnaire.

Q30 – What is the greatest disadvantage of attending classes taught by native English speakers?		
	Number of responses	Percentage
There aren't any disadvantages.	20	37.7%
They usually can't speak the students' L1 and thus make use of comparisons of the two languages.	11	20.8%
NESTs sometimes rely on their nativeness too much and are often less professionally qualified.	6	11.3%
NESTs are less suitable for beginner learners.	6	11.3%
NESTs usually don't and can't explain grammar very accurately.	4	7.5%
Different cultural background.	3	5.7%
NESTs are less aware of learning difficulties caused by the students' L1.	3	5.7%

Figure 28: Q30 - What is the greatest disadvantage of attending classes taught by native English speakers?

Q30 is the last compulsory question of the survey and since it is an open ended one, it provides a good opportunity for the respondents to authentically express their views. The responses were divided into several categories and these are presented according to their frequency in Figure 28 in descending order. Because some participants mentioned several different drawbacks of NESTs, the total number of responses in Figure 28 slightly exceeds the total number of respondents.

As demonstrated by the respective entries in Figure 28, the proportion of those who believe that NESTs are flawless is almost twice as low in comparison to those who could think of some disadvantages. In absolute frequencies, the ratio is 37.7% as opposed to 62.3%. Among the disadvantages, the most frequently mentioned one was that NESTs rarely share the mother tongue of their learners and thus as one respondent put it: *'Native speakers usually don't know Czech equivalents of words, which might be important sometimes. Native English speakers usually can't compare English to Czech.'* The question whether NESTs should be able to understand the L1 of their students has already been discussed in Q24, where despite the differences not being very sharp, the majority of respondents claimed that knowledge of the students' L1 is in fact not essential for a NEST.

Another negative characteristic feature identified by 11.3% of the respondents was that some NESTs tend to rely on their nativeness and may sometimes pay less attention to the preparation of their classes and, to quote one of the responses: *'[NESTs] are not focused on the level of their teaching.'* Moreover, NESTs may often be found as lacking a rigorous professional training in ELT, as one participant pointed out: *'The problem is that majority of native speakers teaching English in CZ [= the Czech Republic] are not teachers by profession.'* This issue has been touched upon in Q26, which indicated that most learners (81%) believe that an extensive professional training is a prerequisite for EFL teachers.

An equal number of respondents (11.3%) also believe that NESTs are not very suitable for lower-level students and especially for complete beginners. Some respondents justified this claim by

pointing out that NESTs can actually discourage less advanced learners by throwing them in at the deep end because: *'for students who are at the level of "absolute beginnings" it is going to be that harder to get their learning going.'* The question whether NESTs should teach all levels including absolute beginners has been one of the core topics of the questionnaire and as such has been treated in Q10, Q11, and Q12, where it proved to be a rather thorny issue provoking a wide diversity of opinions (see Figure 10).

Among the disadvantages mentioned by a smaller number of participants is also the statement that NESTs allegedly do not usually pay so much attention to teaching English grammar and if they do teach it, they often cannot present it very well. To use a quote: *'[NESTs'] students can achieve a great pronunciation, vocabulary, speaking and writing abilities, but from my own experience, native speaker can not explain rules of grammar as good as certified non-native English teacher.'* And also: *'Because native speakers seldom have problems of grammar, it makes them don't know how to explain grammar in a good way.'* Unfortunately, this view was not taken into account when the questionnaire was being designed but even though it is fostered by a relatively small percentage of the participants (7.5%), it would certainly be appropriate to put it under more detailed scrutiny in future research.

Interestingly enough, even in the very much homogeneous western-civilisation context, the fact that a NEST comes from a different cultural setting is perceived as a disadvantage by 5.7% of learners. Although cultural differences will probably turn out to be a more important issue in communities with life-style and values more distant from the Anglo-American model, even in the Czech Republic the potentially clashing cultural backgrounds of the learner and the teacher and a *'different way of thinking'* seem to be significant to some respondents. Similarly to the previous point, this phenomenon would undoubtedly deserve a closer analysis.

The last deficiency mentioned by 5.7% of the participants is actually a paraphrase of the opinion formulated by Peter Medgyes, which has already been introduced more than once throughout this paper (see 2.2.4 and 3.1.1) and it was also the topic of Q22. It can perhaps be claimed that due to the questionnaire, some of the participants realised that the question of sensitivity to learning difficulties and L1 interference is an important aspect of a successful EFL teacher though there are of course many other factors. To use the actual words of one respondent: *'As one of the earlier questions mentioned, a native English speaker might be less aware of the students' language learning difficulties caused by some different principles in their first language. But it probably depends on the teacher.'*

Nevertheless, the issue of learning difficulties and L1 interference is closely connected to the already mentioned lack of knowledge of the learners' mother tongue on the part of most NESTs. That is why it would also be possible to count the 5.7% of the respondents as simultaneously supporting the 20.8% of those participants who see insufficient knowledge of the students' L1 as the most apparent disadvantage of NESTs.

3.1.5 Limits and deficiencies of the questionnaire

This section summarises the problematic points which have been identified during the data analysis and which have mostly been touched upon at the respective points in the text above. Even though it can be said that the issues are not devastating as regards their influence on the outcomes of the questionnaire, it would certainly be hypocritical to dismiss them with a ‘nobody-is-perfect’ type of comment.

First of all, it is true that the length of the questionnaire may seem excessive and that it may have strained the attention of the participants a bit too much, which in turn may have been reflected in the slightly inconsistent response pattern towards the end of the survey (Q29). However, it is speculative whether omitting some questions in order to shorten the questionnaire would not have been even more harmful to the results than preserving its current length. In hindsight, it is in fact a pity that a question: *‘Is a NEST a motivating factor?’* has not been included in the questionnaire.

What on the other hand seems to be a justified objection is that some queries, e.g. Q20 or Q22, could have been formulated more clearly, which may have diminished the number of undecided respondents. The high proportion of undecided participants may however have been caused by the complexity of the topic of EFL teachers in general, as one participant pointed out in the comment section of the questionnaire: *‘I think that there is more than just the question of “native/non-native” if you want to talk about the characteristics of a GOOD teacher. That’s why I can’t decide myself in most of the questions.’*

Finally, at least in the case of Q13, the offered choice of answers is not wide enough since it lacks an option: *‘No, they are the same.’* The respondents who disagreed with the statement in Q13 were thus forced to choose the N/A option, which should have been reserved for those who have no experience with NESTs.

To sum up, it is obvious that there should have been a pilot survey carried out before the actual questionnaire in order to identify and amend potentially problematic parts. The pilot survey was omitted due to time pressure, a fact which in itself poses a strong recommendation for a more realistic time management of any future research. Overall, it must be admitted that if some of these deficiencies had been remedied, the data would potentially have provided somewhat clearer and more conclusive results. However, the results presented in this paper were hopefully not skewed too much by the problems mentioned above and the conclusions of the first, i.e. quantitative, part of the research presented in the subsequent section can thus be considered valid.

3.1.6 Conclusion to part 1

Before approaching the qualitative part of this study, it would certainly be appropriate to summarise the outcomes of the first part of the research. This will be done by reintroducing the set of original hypotheses, which will each be briefly commented on.

1) Learners believe that NESTs are not suitable for low-level classes, i.e. A1 – A2.

Data from Q12 proved that learners believe that NESTs are not suitable for absolute beginners. As regards lower levels (A1 – A2), learners are not convinced that NESTs are a wrong choice for low-level EFL students. This hypothesis thus proved to be false.

2) NESTs differ from NNESTs in the way they teach English.

Even though the results introduced in Q13 were not conclusive, there is a tendency towards a pattern concurring with this hypothesis.

3) Lessons taught by NESTs are more efficient and their students believe that they learn more within a shorter period of time.

The validity of this hypothesis could not be decided on the sole basis of the data provided (Q14). This point thus remains undecided.

4) Learners believe that attending lessons taught by NESTs is the only way a non-native learner can achieve a native-like L2 competence

Responses to Q15 and Q16 proved that most learners do not agree with this hypothesis, which must therefore be considered invalid.

5) Learners believe that native English competence is attainable.

The outcomes of Q17 demonstrated that this hypothesis mirrors the view of most respondents.

6) NNESTs can serve as imitable models of successful learners of English.

Although the responses to Q20 may seem to deny this claim, it must be noted that the large number of undecided respondents together with the somewhat abstract nature of this query (see 3.1.5) speak against an unequivocal rejection of this hypothesis.

7) Native speakers can provide learners with more information about the English language.

The response pattern at Q21 clearly shows that this hypothesis is invalid.

8) NNESTs are more able to predict language difficulties.

This hypothesis cannot be either accepted or rejected since the respective query (Q22) provided absolutely inconclusive data.

9) NNESTs are more empathetic to the needs and problems of their learners.

The validity of this hypothesis cannot be definitely determined, even though the responses to Q23 show a certain inclination towards an affirmative statement.

10) EFL teachers should have some knowledge of the learners' L1.

Though not decisively, this hypothesis was denied by the data gathered in Q24.

11) Methodological training is essential for both NESTs and NNESTs.

Learners' responses to Q26 are in accordance with this hypothesis.

12) NESTs are more valued than NNESTs.

Even though this point will be further tested in the second part of this research, it seems that based on the data from Q27 – 29, this hypothesis can be accepted as valid.

Moreover, apart from the pre-constructed hypotheses, the following statements can be formulated, based on the questionnaire data.

- 13)** Overall, learners tend to perceive qualified NESTs and qualified NNESTs as equal.
- 14)** Nevertheless, qualified NESTs speaking with one of the standard accents tend to be given preference over NESTs speaking with regional accents.
- 15)** Also, NNESTs that come from the same culture and have the same L1 as the learners, tend to be preferred in contrast to NNESTs with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.
- 16)** There may even be some aspects of L2 which are taught better by NESTs, e.g. speaking skills, as opposed to other aspects that are more aptly presented by NNESTs, e.g. grammar.

To conclude, the results above should be taken as an interim summary intended to facilitate orientation in the research as a whole and perhaps present it in more digestible pieces. They by no means substitute a full-fledged discussion of the findings with all their implications, which is to be found at the end of this paper (see Conclusion).

3.2 Part 2: Interviews

Insightful and informative as they are, surveys can take the researcher only so far. In order to perceive the immensely complicated socio-cultural phenomena with all their complexity and conundrums, a quantitative approach is not sufficient (Richards, 2003: 8). That is why the second part of the research concerning experience and expectations connected to NESTs is of a qualitative nature. It should be once again stressed that despite the deeply rooted conviction of many scholars, qualitative research is by no means a ‘soft’ option (see also 2.1.2). Quite the contrary, since it requires a great deal of rigour, precision, systematicity, and careful attention to detail, qualitative inquiry is nothing but an easy solution (Richards, 2003: 6).

From a very broad perspective, it can be said that the qualitative part of this study works within the constructivist³¹ paradigm, corresponding to the view of a pluralistic reality where the socially determined knowledge and truth are not discovered but rather created (Richards, 2003: 39). The adoption of the constructivist paradigm is however a commitment of an intellectual rather than procedural nature (Richards, 2003: 41). What is more important is that within the constructivist paradigm, the tradition pursued by this research will be that of a case study, or two case studies to be more precise.

Finally, the means of data collection will be a semi-structured interview conducted with the representatives of two major commercial language schools based in Prague. The interview method was by Silverman identified as ‘the gold-standard of qualitative research’ (Silverman, 2000: 291) and by Oakley paralleled to marriage since ‘everybody knows what it is, an awful lot of people do it, and yet, behind each closed door there is a world of secrets’ (Oakley, A. 1981. ‘Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms’ in Richards, 2003: 47). It is then the sole hope of the author of this paper that the following pages will manage to open the metaphorical door at least a crack.

3.2.1 Methodology

As mentioned, the interviewees were in both cases the heads of the methodology departments in two well-established commercial language schools in Prague. These schools currently rank among the top eight language schools with the biggest share of the Czech market and they both have a long-lasting experience with employing NESTs. The interviews were conducted on the premises of the respective language schools, namely in one of their classrooms. This setting was chosen in order to help the interviewees to be able to take off their professional hats and be less reluctant to present their personal views apart from the official stance of their language schools. Also, since both the interviewer and the interviewees are native speakers of Czech, it was decided that Czech should be the medium of the interviews to ensure maximum comfort and spontaneity. The interviews were recorded and the interviewees provided a written consent with the recording. The length of each interview was

³¹ Constructivism is also often labelled as constructionism, interpretivism, or naturalism, with each of these terms highlighting a slightly different aspect of the original idea (Richards, 2003: 36).

between forty and fifty minutes. The interviews were later transcribed and the method of open coding was used to categorise the data. The resultant categories are then treated in the following subchapters. The information presented in the following sections is based entirely on the data gathered during the interviews, unless stated otherwise. For the sake of convenience, the lists of codes and the corresponding categories for each interview, together with full transcripts of both interviews can be found in Appendix 2: Transcript of the PO interview to Appendix 5: PR codes and categories.

3.2.2 NESTs in commercial language schools

Unlike state schools, where the statistics are kept quite meticulously (see Figure 5), the data concerning the number and qualification of NESTs teaching at language schools is not freely available. That is why before the actual interviews, the participants were asked via email to answer a small set of preliminary questions regarding the percentage and characteristics of their NEST employees. The information gathered by this survey is presented in Figure 29 below.

	PO ³²	PR
How many NESTs are teaching English at your school?	21	49
What is the percentage of NESTs at your school?	22.1%	40.2%
What is the typical qualification of the NESTs?	BA degree + TEFL certificate	BA degree + TEFL certificate or CELTA
Do you perceive any changes in the NESTs' number/qualification/age/length of stay in the Czech Republic in comparison with the situation in the past (i.e. more than 5 years ago)?	Yes.	Partly yes.

Figure 29: NESTs in commercial language schools

It is evident that in comparison with state schools (Figure 5), the number of NESTs in the private sector is significantly higher. The differences between commercial language schools and public schools, as well as the changing trends in the characteristics and behaviour of NESTs, i.e. the last question in Figure 29, were discussed in more detail during the interviews.

3.2.3 The profile of NESTs in language schools: past and present

This section will touch upon the professional commitment and characteristics of a prototypical NEST employed at a commercial language school and compare these to the situation in the past.

Generally speaking, even though the number of NESs applying for a teaching position in the Czech Republic is still fairly high, it should be pointed out that it is by no means comparable to the rather remarkable influx of native speakers in the early 1990s (PR1)³³. Also other characteristic features of NESTs remained mostly unchanged, e.g. that the most common age-group of NESTs at

³² The abbreviations PO and PR are used as labels for the respective interviews and consequently as nicknames for the interviewees.

³³ The number following the interview label refers to the corresponding section of the transcripts.

language schools are recent graduates of BA programmes, although there is a gradual increase of the number of middle-aged NESTs. These are typically people who are looking for a new challenge in life and see a teaching career as a good opportunity for a fresh start (PO3).

As regards the younger NESTs, it seems that there has been a steady growth in the number of those who see teaching as an easy way of exploring Europe and who are thus not very committed to the teaching profession. This trend in fact resembles the situation in the mid 1990s when it was not uncommon that a NEST did not come to the class because he or she had been partying too much the night before. Even though such excesses are scarce nowadays, it is true that there is a greater fluctuation of NESTs than there was some five years ago. Especially younger NESTs hardly ever stay at one language school for more than one school year and it is not rare that they leave their school after just one semester. It may therefore be claimed that the majority of today's NESTs lack the patience and perseverance of their predecessors (PR1).

Also, compared to the situation in the previous decade when the majority of NESTs were employees, most NESTs in the Czech Republic are currently working as freelance teachers with a trade certificate. The likely reason for this change may be a purely bureaucratic one, i.e. since the application process for a work permit in the Czech Republic is rather long, NESTs often apply for a trade certificate, where the process is faster, though not necessarily easier (PR1).

Nevertheless, probably the most important difference is that despite some of the negative features they may have, today's NESTs are better professionally qualified. To possess a recognised teaching qualification, e.g. a TEFL certificate or CELTA, is an absolute necessity for all NES applicants for teaching jobs. While in the 1990s and early 2000s it was usually sufficient to be a NES it has nowadays become almost impossible for a NES who does not have such formal qualification to be employed as an English teacher at a reputable language school (PO1).

3.2.4 Differences between NESTs and NNESTs

It was pointed out at various points of this text that the distinction between NESTs and NNESTs has its grounds on actual discrepancies between these two groups of teachers and is thus useful for referential purposes (see for instance 2.2.3). These differences are frequently manifested in the methodological issues each group typically encounters and language schools must be given credit for being aware of these differences as well as for their effort to address them accordingly.

One of the main reasons for NESTs and NNESTs prototypically having slightly different methodological problems is the design and focus of the teacher training courses NESTs and NNESTs typically undertake, i.e. TEFL courses and faculties of pedagogy respectively (PR3). While TEFL courses are predominantly oriented on equipping the participants with a set of practical teaching skills and are thus proper training courses in the narrow sense, pedagogical faculties typically provide their students with more academic knowledge at the expense of rigorous practice. With a certain degree of simplification, it can be said that whereas TEFL courses are predominantly about how to teach,

pedagogical faculties are more concerned with what to teach. This is of course not to say that TEFL courses neglect the theoretical part of ELT, i.e. English grammar. Quite the contrary, TEFL courses contain a comprehensive introduction into linguistic terminology, though the extent is by no means comparable to the syllabi of pedagogical faculties. In any case, the conviction that they are fully equipped to teach English is a common misconception of many graduates from both TEFL and pedagogical programmes (PO38).

This is partly the reason why NESTs in their classes tend to focus more often on activities other than grammar and on the contrary, why NNESTs usually feel more comfortable explaining and practising grammar (PO11). The fact that they have gone through slightly different education programmes that put emphasis on different aspects of ELT may certainly play its role. Both NESTs and NNESTs would then naturally make maximum use of their strengths, i.e. vast knowledge in the lexical sphere in the case of NESTs and rigorous knowledge of English morpho-syntactic rules in the case of NNESTs. In other words, most NESTs would not feel very confident if they were asked to explain a grammatical issue and on the other hand, the majority of NNESTs would not be very comfortable in a purely conversation class (PR4).

In addition, language school authorities confirm that it is rather exceptional that NESTs teach A0 classes, i.e. absolute beginners. However, this is not predominantly due to the fact that NESTs usually do not share a common L1 with their learners, but rather because teaching beginners requires a great deal of experience and expertise, which NESTs, being mostly attendants of TEFL courses, do not possess (PR5). On the other hand though, the same applies to NNESTs who are recent graduates from pedagogical faculties. To put it simply, even though the knowledge of the learners' L1 can be beneficial at times, unlike expertise it is not a necessary precondition for teaching beginners (PO30). Even though the questionnaire data have disproved that learners consider NESTs to be unsuitable for complete beginners (see Figure 10), it must be kept in mind that while the survey presented in Part 1 was run among university students, the most typical clients of language schools are corporate employees. The preferences of these learners may then be, and most probably are, slightly different from those outlined by the questionnaire data.

The natural tendency of NESTs and NNESTs to make use of their strengths while at the same time trying not to give in to their weaknesses inevitably leads to the traditional division of the roles when NESTs are allocated to intermediate conversation classes, whereas NNESTs typically teach grammar-centred classes. Such division is in fact quite convenient for both NESTs and NNESTs since it is based on their supposedly strong sides (PR16). It consequently leads to NESTs and NNESTs being perceived as teaching differently, a fact which has been put under scrutiny in the quantitative part of this study (see Figure 11). However, the extent to which the dissimilar teaching style strengthens the native/non-native dichotomy or whether it is actually the other way round, i.e. since learners expect NESTs and NNESTs to structure their lessons differently and to simply be different

teachers, learners in fact force the black-and-white NEST/NNEST distinction upon a hardly bipolar group of English teachers, that is something which remains unclear.

3.2.5 The importance of NESTs

According to the interviewees, the presence of NESTs in a language school is vital due to the simple supply-and-demand precept. To put it plainly, because learners demand NESTs, language schools have to employ them and no language school can become largely successful with only NNESTs, a fact which is in itself valid for not only English but for any foreign language (PO37). Quite surprisingly, it is the demand of the learners, not the philosophy of the language schools that usually gives NESTs such a prominent position in the first place. From the point of view of the language schools, NESTs and NNESTs are considered to be equal and their specific needs and characteristics mentioned in 3.2.4 do not put either group above the other (PR13). However, since learners perceive NESTs as possessing some mythical added value, language schools are forced to promote them, often at the expenses of NNESTs, in order to succeed on the market (PR9).

From the point of view of language school authorities, NESTs can thus no longer be presented as a sign of prestige of a given language school as they used to be in the early 1990s, when the presence of virtually any NES, qualified or not, in a language school provided a significant competitive edge (PO20). The fact that language schools offer NESTs has nowadays become commonplace not only in the largest schools and cities. Nevertheless, even though learners have quickly adapted to the current trend, they still tend to perceive schools featuring NESTs as more prestigious (see Figure 25 in the first part of the analytical chapter).

3.2.6 The role of NESTs and NNESTs in the learning process

Although language schools claim that they would prefer not to distinguish between teachers on the sole basis of their country of origin, they admit that both NESTs and NNESTs have their specific roles in the process of L2 learning (PR4). By far the most important roles of NESTs are being language models and promoting authentic use of English not only among the learners but also among their fellow colleagues. Besides, NESTs also present a novel perspective of English and effortlessly facilitate a contact with a different culture. Therefore, the presence of a NEST at any type of school is usually a great motivation factor for learning English (PR17).

Despite the fact that the attainability of native-like competence is disputable (see 2.2.3.1), NESTs represent an invaluable link with English as it is actually used in all sorts of contexts and registers (PO7). Admittedly, the contact with ‘real’ English can also be facilitated by experienced NNESTs who have for instance lived abroad for some time or are bilingual. However, such NNESTs are still rather exceptional especially in the Czech context (PO38). Yet, it should also be pointed out that even though NESTs serve as models whose English is highly desirable to be adopted by the learners, they should not be put in the position of ultimate language authorities who must be imitated ad nauseam (PO12). It is in fact this ‘worshipping’ of NESTs that may be one of the reasons why

numerous learners, especially in the initial stages of L2 learning, lose motivation in the face of the perfection of their NEST models. Quite soon, most learners realise that getting even close to the native competence is an extremely complicated task and it is not an exception that many learners are discouraged from any efforts to learn English in the first place and fall among the ranks of false beginners (PR21). That is why NESTs should rather be understood as an opportunity to practise communication skills and as an inspiration as regards features of 'real' English the learners may incorporate into their own idiolect (PO12). To use Davies' quote introduced earlier (see 2.2.3.1), a NEST should always be understood 'as a model, not as a measure' (Davies, 1995: 157).

On the other hand, even if they mostly cannot offer such in-depth knowledge of colloquial English, NNESTs are still highly valuable to the learners since they share the same experience with them, i.e. they were and in fact constantly are learners of English themselves (PR27). They can therefore make use of this shared experience in order to empathise with their learners and safely navigate them through all sorts of expected problems. Additionally, especially at the very beginning of L2 learning, the presence of a teacher who shares the same mother tongue with the learners, which most NNESTs in the Czech context do, may certainly be reassuring to some learners as they do not need to be worried about being thrown in at the deep end (PO30). This can nevertheless be also seen as a disadvantage by some learners who might prefer a more authentic setting, i.e. interaction with a NES from the very beginning of their learning (PR18). This is of course largely dependent on the personality and preferences of each learner and as such cannot really be generalised.

It can thus be said that since the goal of any L2 learning should be successful and effortless communication in the L2, it is in fact pointless to strive for a native-like competence in any foreign language (PO13). Perhaps unwittingly language schools touch upon the opinion already formulated by Comenius (see 2.1.1.2), nowadays reinforced by the global character of English. By a simple rule of probability, the learners of English will far more often interact with other non-native rather than native English speakers (see Figure 1). Therefore, it would be most beneficial to the learners if they become acquainted with as many varieties of English as possible by the means of being taught by a variety of teachers from all over the world. In other words, since English has become a global language, it should be taught by global teachers. However, it seems that only a minority of learners have accepted this view since most of them still see NESTs with an undue aura of perfection (PR23).

3.2.7 Learners' view of NESTs and NNESTs

On their own, the preceding sections can probably provide a strong clue as to how Czech learners perceive NESTs and NNESTs. Nevertheless, since the relationship between learners and language schools is in fact a business relationship of customers and service providers, the position and influence of learners is so prominent that it should be treated separately.

It seems that unlike language schools, learners put considerably greater emphasis on whether a teacher is a native or a non-native speaker. Without much exaggeration, it could perhaps be claimed

that nativeness is sometimes the only criterion that learners take into account when they choose an L2 teacher (PR8). The importance that learners assign to NESTs is then sharply contrasting with the egalitarian approach proposed by some language schools. While language schools generally see NESTs and NNESTs as equal, learners mostly perceive NESTs as forming the highest level in EFL learning, some kind of inner circle which can be entered only after achieving certain L2 level in classes taught by NNESTs (PR4). It may even appear that NNESTs teach the learners some simplified version of English, which could only be upgraded through contact with NESTs. Along this logic, the more advanced the learners, the more desirable are classes with a NEST (PR5). The exclusiveness seems partly to be caused by the conviction that unlike NNESTs, who can be found everywhere anytime, NESTs are scarce. This is of course a false belief as there is no lack of qualified NESTs in Prague at present and it is not uncommon that NESTs have to spend a long time looking for a teaching job (PR8).

The notion of scarcity is also reflected in the fact that the interviewees agree that most learners would not hesitate to pay a higher price for lessons with a NEST than with a NNEST. This is in line with the findings presented in the first part of the research (see Figure 26). The idea that NNESTs must be cheaper than NESTs often clashes with the policy of language schools which would prefer to charge the same rate for L2 lessons, regardless of the teacher's nationality. However, since especially corporate clients quite often refuse to pay the same price for a NNEST as for a NEST, they force language schools to maintain the dichotomy on yet another, i.e. financial, level (PR7).

Another area where the opinions of language schools and learners collide is a narrower understanding of the learners concerning who is a NES. Interestingly, apart from teachers from the UK or the USA, learners are very often reluctant to consider teachers from other English-speaking countries such as Australia, New Zealand, let alone South Africa to be native English speakers (PR11). The fact that most learners have not yet fully recognised the consequences of English becoming an international language, i.e. that the possibility of interactions with other NNESTs is considerably higher than the possibility of encountering a NES, may be reflected in the lukewarm attitude towards non-British and non-American EFL teachers. As a matter of fact, there is a relatively strong inclination among Czech learners towards refusing all EFL teachers who are non-UK/US and non-Czech at the same time, e.g. EFL teachers from Russia, Poland, or the Netherlands. It appears that a large number of Czech learners and sadly some language schools as well consider such teachers to be of a third category simply because they mostly cannot offer either native English competence or knowledge of the learners' L1 (PR10). However, even though this might be true, it does not mean that they are worse EFL teachers than Britons, Americans, or Czechs.

Moreover, not only are British and American EFL teachers seen as 'more native' than other NNESTs and more competent than NNESTs, learners also expect them to make their lessons more enjoyable than NNESTs (PR12). This expectation most probably comes from the already mentioned tendency of NESTs and NNESTs to focus on different aspects of English, i.e. grammar and receptive

skills in the case of NNESTs, as opposed to productive skills in the case of NESTs. This tendency has in turn its grounds in the diverse EFL teaching background of each group (see 3.2.4). Learners consequently tend to expect lessons with NESTs to be more relaxed and communicative, as opposed to lessons with NNESTs that are supposedly teacher-centred and grammar-focused. This belief may also be reinforced by the state education system, which typically assigns NESTs to conversation classes with advanced levels and thus presents them as the proverbial icing on the cake of EFL education (PR30). All these factors combined, they form a huge obstacle to the egalitarian approach propagated by some language schools and since learners are paying customers, language schools give in to the native/non-native dichotomy more often than not (PO36).

A recommendation of language school authorities towards the learners would then be to abandon the criterion of nativeness as the decisive factor when looking for an EFL teacher and take into account other characteristics connected more closely to the learning process. Among these are especially experience and expertise, as well as a learner needs-oriented approach (PO32). Last but not least, learners should be more open to teachers of diverse nationalities and appreciate the opportunity of getting acquainted with all sorts of Englishes as they provide a window to the multicultural society of today (PO31).

3.2.8 The good EFL teacher

When asked to define the most important requirement that applicants for teaching positions should possess, a similar response was given by both interviewees, i.e. it is crucial that the applicants know how to teach. This section therefore briefly focuses on what lies behind the ability to teach and what the characteristics of the good EFL teacher are.

It has already been mentioned more than once that proficiency in English is the first and vital precondition for any EFL teacher. Therefore, it may seem that thanks to their native competence, NESTs would be advantaged in comparison with NNESTs, amongst whom native-like competence is rather an exception. However, a proficient level of English is not the only necessary feature of the good EFL teacher. Quite the contrary, without some sort of pedagogical training, advanced level of English in no way guarantees that a proficient user of the language will automatically become a proficient L2 teacher (PR25). Besides, especially when teaching beginners, NNESTs can greatly benefit from sharing the same L1 with their learners and in accordance with Harold Palmer's advice, attaining at least basic knowledge of the learners' mother tongue can certainly be recommended to all EFL teachers (see 2.1.3). Nevertheless, neither of these three conditions, i.e. language proficiency, pedagogical qualification, and knowledge of the learners' L1, are enough if an applicant for a teaching position does not possess a great deal of motivation and determination, as well as a certain amount of talent for teaching (PR3).

Yet, the most important feature of good EFL teachers is that they are constantly aware of their learners' needs and flexibly adapt their teaching according to these needs. Last but not least, even if

may sound like a hackneyed phrase, good teachers of any subject are reflective of their own methods, are always striving to improve their teaching and if they encounter any problems, they do not hesitate to seek advice (PR30).

3.2.9 Conclusion to part 2

The concluding section of the qualitative research chapter is dedicated to an induction of certain theories based on the data presented above (the theories are introduced below as 1 – 6). Even though it must be admitted that the length and depth of the interviews may prevent these theories to stir the waters of ELT in a dramatic way, they can prove to be of importance nonetheless.

- 1) **For language schools, NESTs are of key importance.** Since learners demand NESTs, language schools have to employ them in order to be commercially successful.
- 2) **Language schools tend to perceive NESTs and NNESTs as equal.** Although language school authorities admit that there are dissimilarities between NESTs and NNESTs mainly in the way they approach English, these differences do not by any means handicap one group of teachers against the other.
- 3) **Language schools see certain differences in the way NESTs and NNESTs teach.** Language schools realise that NESTs are more inclined to teaching conversation classes whereas NNESTs usually focus on grammar. According to language schools, these preferences are based on dissimilar education backgrounds.
- 4) **Language schools understand NESTs as a valuable alternative to NNESTs.** Without seeing them as superior to NNESTs, language schools appreciate that NESTs approach English from a different angle and educate their learners on a cultural level.
- 5) **Language schools are aware of the global character of English.** Not only are language schools mindful of the fact that nativeness cannot be associated with only British or American speakers, they are also fully conscious of the existence of a wide range of Englishes. Therefore, even though there are exceptions, most language schools welcome proficient non-native non-Czech teachers as they are beneficial facilitators of cross-cultural contact.
- 6) **Language schools value expertise more than nativeness.** Language schools look for competent speakers of English who possess a relevant teaching qualification and are committed to the teaching profession. To automatically associate nativeness or English proficiency with teaching expertise is nowadays an error made by few language schools.

Similarly to part 1, the outcomes of the second part of the research are mentioned at this point so that the readers can keep track of the key points and perhaps compare the results of the quantitative and the qualitative part, as well as be reminded of the connections of some of these outcomes to the concepts introduced in the theoretical chapter. Nevertheless, a proper discussion of the findings is the topic of the final chapter.

4 Conclusion

The findings of both the quantitative and the qualitative part of the research having been presented, the only thing that remains is to reflect on the outcomes in a broader perspective and reach certain conclusions. The following seven points represent the major outcomes of this thesis.

- 1) **Learners and language schools differ in the way they see NESTs.** While language schools do not understand NESTs as in any remarkable way superior to NNESTs, learners tend to perceive NESTs as more competent and proficient teachers. Nevertheless, both language schools and learners agree that NESTs serve as language models.
- 2) **Learners value NESTs more than NNESTs.** Learners claim that they would be willing to pay a higher price for classes with a NEST. Besides, learners tend to believe that the more advanced they are, the more desirable it is to attend classes with a NEST.
- 3) **Learners are not aware of the global character of English.** Learners tend to associate nativeness with only British and American speakers and are ignorant of the existence of other Englishes. Learners frequently refuse non-native non-Czech teachers and overlook the opportunity to benefit from contact with speakers from different cultures.
- 4) **Both learners and language schools see certain differences in the way NESTs and NNESTs teach.** The preference of NESTs to focus on teaching productive skills as opposed to the inclination of NNESTs towards teaching grammar is being perceived by both language school authorities and EFL learners. While language schools approach this tendency as stemming from a diverse teacher training background and do not understand it as an evaluative criterion, learners tend to view lessons with NESTs as generally better.
- 5) **Language schools understand NESTs as a valuable alternative, whereas learners perceive NESTs as a measure.** By comparing NNESTs to NESTs, learners tend to see NNESTs as deficient and less competent teachers. Language schools on the other hand appreciate that NESTs approach English from a different angle and educate their learners on a cultural level but do not see them as superior to NNESTs.
- 6) **Similarly to learners, language schools believe that NESTs are not very suitable for teaching complete beginners.** Learners see the lack of knowledge of the students' L1 as the most prominent reason why NESTs should not teach A0 level students. On the other hand, language schools tend to allocate beginner courses on the basis of the teachers' experience and expertise rather than nativeness.
- 7) **Language schools value expertise while learners focus on nativeness.** Not infrequently, learners automatically associate nativeness with teaching expertise and perceive NNESTs as universally inferior to NESTs.

Based on the points listed above, a set of general recommendations directed to education authorities as well as to L2 learners and teachers can be formulated.

- I. Nativeness should not be a measure.** Schools and learners should not perceive nativeness as a sign of teaching expertise but purely as one of the characteristics that should be taken into account when allocating teachers to courses.
- II. Addressing learner needs should be prioritised.** Experience and expertise of EFL teachers should be the decisive factors for allocating teachers to courses. Besides, teachers should be motivated to constantly assess their performance and flexibly respond to the needs of their learners.
- III. The global character of English should be stressed.** Through contact with EFL teachers of various nationalities, learners should be made aware of the global character of English and consequently see proficient NESTs and NNESTs as equally equipped to teach L2 English. This is especially important in the case of EFL teachers who are of a different nationality than their learners and at the same time are non-native English speakers.
- IV. Native-like competence should not be the primary target of L2 learning.** As opposed to strengthening L2 communication skills, considerably less effort should be devoted to imitating native English speakers. Even though native speakers' English should form the backbone of EFL teaching, it is vital that learners become acquainted with at least some of the numerous contemporary Englishes.

Even though the present paper has predominantly focused on describing the state of the art in current EFL teaching, rather than on formulating specific solutions to the issues encountered during the analysis, it hopefully managed to draft at least the most schematic proposals as to what aspects of the NEST/NNEST dichotomy should be paid close attention to. Besides, the legitimacy of the NEST/NNEST division has been put under scrutiny and consequently proved to be helpful for strictly referential purposes, although it is largely used in an evaluative way especially among the learner community.

As it was confirmed that there are areas where NESTs unquestionably differ from NNESTs, be it their English competence, teaching preferences or typical methodological issues, dismantling of the NEST/NNEST distinction would in fact be equally harmful as trying to maintain it in its strict measuring form of the recent past. Because NESTs are widely acknowledged as models by education authorities and learners alike, disregarding their asset would deprive EFL teaching of its backbone without which the world of ELT would become nothing but a cluster of unanchored local varieties of English lost in the ocean of sociolinguistic change.

Last but not least, it should be admitted that in order to allow more general conclusions on the one hand, and more specific recommendations regarding NESTs on the other, a considerably larger data sample would be required for the quantitative analysis. Similarly, also the qualitative part of the

research would undoubtedly benefit from supplementary interviews probing into some of the complex topics touched upon in the first round of the interviews, e.g. potential differences in the understanding of NESTs between various learner groups or the role of teacher training programmes. However, had these been included, the extent of the thesis would have grown excessively, but in themselves they represent a strong incentive concerning the direction of potential future research. Besides, a thorough research investigating the position of NESTs at secondary schools would be highly desirable as it may bring valuable insights, especially if contrasted to the way NESTs are understood by commercial language schools.

To conclude, reaching the final paragraph of this thesis, the readers will hopefully have been acquainted with the complexity of the issue of NESTs and will have understood the major historical consequences that led to this complexity, while at the same time having been introduced to the key contemporary theories and authorities in this field. Additionally, the contribution of the analytical chapter presenting a perhaps small-scale but authentic research will have proved to be of value. Most importantly though, it will have become clear that the topic of NESTs offers a great number of research opportunities as it is especially in the Czech context a largely uncharted territory.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: The questionnaire template and data

To ensure that the quantitative part of the research can be replicated and its findings checked upon, the template of the questionnaire as it was administered in Moodle as well as an Excel spreadsheet containing all the responses can be found under the following link:

<https://drive.google.com/?tab=wo&authuser=0#folders/0B2UeXiTInjkNakRNMDNPZzJKTGc>

Appendix 2: Transcript of the PO interview

- 1) *Spatřujete nějakou změnu v počtu, kvalifikaci, věku, délce pobytu v ČR u rodilých mluvčích ve srovnání se situací v minulosti (tj. před pěti a více lety)?*
Spíše sem jedou za účelem opravdu učit tu angličtinu a ne si vydělávat pseudoučením na pivo ... to je asi největší posun. Jsou kvalifikovanější a vědí, co chtějí, že tady chtějí učit anglicky a ne že tady chtějí chlastat nebo si vydělávat nějakým pseudoučením ... něčím, co předstírají, že je výuka, ale nemá to s výukou nic společného. Takže to je asi největší rozdíl.
- 2) *Takže i zůstávají delší dobu?*
Jak kteří ... to si myslím, že se nezměnilo. To je pořád stejné.
- 3) *A věk asi taky zůstává nastejno ... těsně po ukončení ...*
No ... to si nemyslím, že je až tak úplně. My tady máme třeba důchodce, kteří už jsou tady třeba deset let a na důchod přišli do Čech, z mně příliš nepochopitelných důvodů, ale je to tak a učí bez problémů.
- 4) *A co vlastně pro vás, pro vaši jazykovku znamená rodilý mluvčí? Jaký má pro vás význam jako pro instituci jazykové školy?*
No ... asi naprosto zásadní, že jo. Bez toho my bychom vůbec nemohli fungovat ... nemůžeme učit jazyky jenom s Čechy ... takže význam zásadní.
- 5) *Takže je pro vás důležité mít určitý počet rodilých mluvčích?*
Jednoznačně. Ten poměr prostě pořád musí být ... já nevím ... jedna ku třem. Prostě ten poměr se udržuje víceméně pořád stejný, dlouhodobě. Když nám ubudou nějak významně, tak musíme shánět aktivně nové. Bez těch rodiláků to prostě nejde.
- 6) *Takže přímo třeba vydáváte inzerát „hledáme rodilého mluvčího“?*
Teď už ne. Teď máme těch nabídek tolik, že v podstatě si můžeme vybírat, což tedy také děláme.
- 7) *Takže to je tedy pozice jazykovky ... a pro studenty, jaký má tedy význam rodilý mluvčí jakožto učitel?*
Je to zase kontakt s tím jazykem. Kontakt na úplně jiné úrovni. Určitě je to i ... kontakt daleko větší s kulturou té země, protože dneska ty rozdíly jsou poměrně velké a začalo se o tom konečně i mluvit. A jsou lidé, kteří trvají na rodilákovi i tam, kde my si myslíme, že třeba ten přínos nebude tak velký z hlediska výuky. Ale ... ten přínos ... já si myslím, že je to jednoznačné. Prostě je to kontakt s živým jazykem a ne s akademickým, protože ať budou Češi umět, jak chtějí dobře, anglicky nebo německy nebo francouzsky nebo nevím jak, tak prostě nikdy, pokud tam deset let nebyli, tak nikdy nebudou umět ten živý jazyk se všemi nuancemi, a hlavně s ... moderními výrazy, to znamená takové to české „hustý“ a tak ... to prostě umí jen ten rodilák. To Čech nikdy nebude umět. Jazyk esemesek, takovéhle věci ... to prostě se tady v Čechách nikdo nenaučí.
- 8) *Takže vlastně rodilý mluvčí je ten nejvyšší „level“?*

Není to tak, to si nemyslím. To si nemyslím, protože v některém momentu, třeba v opravdu těch „advanced“ levelech ten Čech, pokud je dobrý, tak má určitě hodně co dělat v těch skupinách a dokonce si myslím, že jsou určité situace, kdy ten Čech je lepší než ten rodilák. A to i třeba ... v C1 nebo C2 si myslím, že to má svoje opodstatnění, možná víc než třeba na nějaké B2 nebo B1. Ale spousta lidí to nechápe. Ale přesto ... nemyslím si, že to je to nejvyšší, myslím si, že je to integrální součást, že bez té to nejde, ale určitě bych neřekla, že tohle je víc nebo tohle je míň. Může být i skvělý rodilák, který bude mít i povědomí o češtině a ... pak samozřejmě je to super, ale pak může stejně dobře být i perfektní Čech, který ten jazyk umí úplně skvěle a to je úplně, řekla bych, rovnocenné. Ale hodně záleží na té úrovni jazykové těch studentů. To je strašně důležité.

- 9) *Řekla byste, že studenti musí mít nějakou úroveň, aby mohli začít s rodilým mluvčím nebo je to jedno? Můžou začít třeba úplně od začátku s rodilcem?*

Čistě teoreticky můžou začít od začátku. Jsou školy, které mají tu metodiku na tom postavenou, že začínají úplně od začátku s rodilákem. Já si nemyslím, že je to nemožné, ale je to strašná práce. Ti lidi, hlavně ti rodilci musí na to být naprosto perfektně vyškolení a ta metodika musí být k tomu uzpůsobená. To znamená i výukové materiály a všechno. A jsou lidi, kterým tahle přímá metoda nebude vůbec vyhovovat. Lidi, kteří potřebují znát strukturu toho jazyka, aby ho mohli používat, tak těm tohle vyhovovat nebude. Ale určitě to jde. Jsou školy, které na tom mají postavené celé svoje know-how a funguje to, dlouhodobě. Takže jo, ale moje preference by to určitě nebyla. Ale my třeba dáváme rodiláky už od A2 bez problémů. Ne výhradně, ale u těch sharovaných kurzů dáváme Čecha s rodilákem.

- 10) *Takže u vás to probíhá tak, že je spolupráce rodilý mluvčí – nerodilý mluvčí? Třeba týden je to s rodilým ...*

Většinou to jsou kurzy, které běží třeba dvakrát v týdnu, tak mají jeden den Čech a jeden den rodiláka.

- 11) *A je tam nějaký rozdíl toho, co se probírá s rodilým a co se dělá s nerodilým mluvčím?*

Určitě. Ten Čech většinou dělá víc teorii nebo to, kde je potřeba víc ta čeština, to znamená třeba gramatiku. Ale protože my se hodně posunujeme, snažíme se posunout k tomu, abychom učili funkce a ne nějakou suchou gramatiku, tak si myslím, že se ten rozdíl začne hodně stírat, ale určitě nezastupitelný je ten rodilák při písemném projevu. Tam prostě ten Čech to nikdy neopraví tak, jak ten rodilák. Určitě speaking, tam je to jasné, ústní projev v jakémkoliv jazyce. Ale třeba čtení a listening si myslím, že stejně dobře dělá Čech jako rodilák, možná to bude dělat i ještě trochu lépe. Ale většinou to záleží, jak se ti dva lektori, do čeho se cítí a pokud se domluví, tak my jim do toho moc nevstupujeme.

- 12) *Rodilý mluvčí je tedy ten model pro studenty? Studenti by se měli snažit dosáhnout rodilé úrovně?*

To si nemyslím. Myslím si, že dosáhnout rodilé úrovně tady v českých poměrech je ... iluze. Ten člověk by nesměl dělat nic jiného a navíc, nevím jak v jiných jazycích, ale v angličtině dneska už vlastně, co je to čistá angličtina? To už v podstatě přestalo existovat a používá se nějaký mišmaš. Někaký přízvuk a výslovnost se už v podstatě přestaly řešit. Dneska každá anglicky mluvící země mluví jinak a všechno se stejně motá v Evropě ... já si myslím, že tohle se strašně změnilo a že se to posouvá. Nemyslím si, že je to takhle výrazné i u jiných jazyků, protože ta angličtina je opravdu globální a mluví se jí na celém světě, tak ty ostatní jazyky tohle nemají. Takže přiblížit se jo, ale nemyslím si, že by ten rodilý mluvčí měl být nějaký model pro ty studenty. Spíš inspirace třeba ... snažit se vyslovovat jako on nebo používat stejné obraty jako on, ale myslím si, že je to učitel jako každý jiný.

- 13) *Takže není potřeba se přepínat a ztrácet čas imitováním rodilosti.*

Tam jde o to hlavně mluvit tak, aby bylo rozumět. Dělat chyby ... nebránící v porozumění a ... pak už je to samozřejmě na tom, jak ten konkrétní člověk potřebuje nebo chce mluvit dokonale nebo nedokonale a to už potom záleží na každém, kde má ten cíl. Někdo má cíl mluvit jako rodilec, dobře, ale těch lidí je ... jedno promile a většinou to jsou vědci nebo lidé, kteří se

zabývají jenom tím jazykem, ale pak je spousta lidí kterým stačí se nějakým způsobem domluvit a je jim jedno, že mluví jako „massa Bob“, hlavně, že si o to pivo řeknou. Takže to je strašně individuální a nedá se to asi bagatelizovat ani generalizovat.

14) A dá se to vůbec dosáhnout rodilé úrovně, když se je člověk nerodilý mluvčí?

Já si myslím, že jo, ale znamená to žít v té zemi nějakou dobu. Ale ne každý to umí ... ne každý má ... to ucho a tu puslu tak ohebnou, aby to dokázal. Já si myslím, že to není nereálné a znám lidi, kteří mluví tak dobře, že není jasné, jestli to jsou nebo nejsou rodilci, ale všichni mají za sebou nějakou dobu života v té zemi, a nebo jsou bilingvní už od začátku.

15) Ale v českém kontextu ...

Považuji to za velmi obtížné a ten člověk by se musel tomu jazyku věnovat v podstatě naplno, nedělat nic jiného ... mít to jako náplň života. Ale nespátřuji v tom moc velký smysl ... vyrovnat se rodilákovi. Trošku mi připadá zbytečné, aby tohle byl cíl jakékoliv výuky.

16) A když se člověk nepotká nikdy s rodilým mluvčím jako učitelem, tak se může zlepšit na vysokou úroveň v angličtině?

Určitě. Když bude mít dobré české učitele, tak určitě ... samozřejmě kontakt s rodilci je lepší ... nebo vůbec kontakt s více učiteli. Největší průšvih českého školství všeobecně je, že všichni si zvyknou na svého jednoho pana učitele, paní učitelku a přijde někdo suplovat a oni mu nerozumí, protože jsou zvyklí na tu specifickou výslovnost, specifickou intonaci a nechápou, že v životě, na ulici, nebudou lidi mluvit stejně. Každý mluví jinak i česky. Takže to je asi největší problém, že nám tady přetrvává Marie Terezie. Paní učitelka je bohyně, pan učitel je bůh, ten to všechno řídí, ale to už by dávno neměla být pravda.

17) Takže lidé se orientují na to, projít testem, mít dobrou známku, ale už nevidí ...

Ano, ale cílem toho člověka by mělo být, naučit se ten jazyk, ne udělat zkoušku ... to je bonbónek, pokud to potřebuje. Ta zkouška by ale měla být prostředek k tomu, abych se naučila ten jazyk nebo prostředek toho, že můžu dokladovat, že objektivně umím ten jazyk na nějaké úrovni. Ale je potřeba umět ten jazyk, to znamená domluvit se a umět říct, co chci a bude mi porozuměno a ne, že budu něco říkat tak blbě, že mi můj protějšek bude rozumět něco jiného. To je alfa a omega dnešního jazykového vzdělávání. To, co bylo před 30 lety, že to musí být perfektní gramaticky, to už dnes neplatí.

18) Jsou nějaké nevýhody toho, když škola zaměstnává rodilé mluvčí? Je nějaký rozdíl mezi vztahem rodilý mluvčí – jazykovka, nerodilý mluvčí – jazykovka?

Já si myslím, že ne. Nevýhody jsou samozřejmě administrativní. Byrokracie kolem cizinců je šílená. Když jsou z EU, je to jednodušší, ale my máme spoustu Američanů a Kanadčanů a to je naprosto šílené. Takže administrativa, ale jinak si myslím, že jsou úplně srovnatelní. Trošku mají kulturní problémy samozřejmě, což je asi přirozené ... trošku se neorientují v českém prostředí. My se jim snažíme vysvětlit, že na americkém imigračním úřadu by se k nim chovali stejně blbě jako na českém. Ale to je asi jediný rozdíl.

19) Jinak tedy převažují výhody?

To nejsou výhody, to je prostě nezbytnost. My to tady bez rodilců můžeme zavřít. Když je nebudeme mít, tak můžeme rovnou skončit. Teď jsme sháněli rodilé Němce a bez nich jsme naprosto ... v háji. Prostě nemůžete provozovat jazykovou školu na nějaké úrovni bez rodilých mluvčích.

20) Takže rodilí mluvčí jsou vlastně známka prestiže?

To si nemyslím. To je prostě standard. Jazyková škola rovná se čeští a rodilí mluvčí. Neznám žádnou jazykovku, která by měla jen české rodilé mluvčí. To může fungovat na sídlišti v paneláku, když se tím někdo živí a doučuje děti z okolí. Ale pro jazykovku našeho typu, to znamená 90% firemní výuky, to vůbec nepřichází do úvahy.

- 21) *Takže jsou nějakí klienti, kteří vyžadují explicitně rodilé mluvčí?*
Ano, jasně.
- 22) *A je to velké procento klientů? Stává se to často?*
No ... často ... já neumím říct, jestli často. Prostě to chtějí ... já nevím, co je často. Je to normální ... my nerozlišujeme, nevnímáme to jako nějaký zvláštní požadavek, nehledě k tomu, že to i leckdy sami nabízíme. Neblázněte, pro tuhle skupinu českého lektora? To už jedině rodilce. Prostě je to normální legitimní požadavek, který my ani nevnímáme jako požadavek.
- 23) *A když říkáte, že sami radíte klientům, že pro tuhle skupinu by byl lepší rodilý mluvčí, tak jaká je to většinou skupina?*
Třeba tam, kde už mají tu úroveň ... kde je to potřeba pro jejich práci, tak tam dosazujeme rodiláky na konverzaci. Takže tam už se to zaměřuje jenom na konverzaci, protože oni už se nepotřebují učit předbudoucí časy, které stejně nebudou nikdy používat, takže je lepší cvičit slovní zásobu a to, co už umějí. A pak nasazujeme rodilce tam, kde lidi potřebují rychleji se dostat do kontaktu s živým jazykem, protože třeba začnou jezdit něco prezentovat, někdo je koupil ...
- 24) *Takže pro vás je ten požadavek na rodilého mluvčího stejný, jako kdyby klient chtěl, aby učitel byl třeba chlap.*
To ne. To mě vždycky rozčílí. To nemám ráda. Stává se tedy, že někdy nechtějí ženskou ... svým způsobem tomu rozumím, ale pro nás je to organizačně složité, protože zrovna třeba máme lektorku, která má v tom požadovaném čase volno a víme, že je dobrá a oni to celé zruší tím, že řeknou ne, my ji nechceme. Ale na druhou stranu, náš zákazník, náš pán, takže se snažíme vyhovět, ale tím neříkám, že mě to nenadzvedne. To si říkám, jaký je v tom asi tak rozdíl. Chápu, že montéři v autodílně si chtějí radši povídat s chlapem, ale naše zkušenost je taková, že zrovna v takovýchto kurzech máme lektorky a funguje to naprosto bez problémů. Protože tu odbornou terminologii oni stejně umějí a to, co neumějí je ta obecná angličtina a to ty holky umějí, takže to tam dají bez problémů dohromady. Ve finále se většinou ukáže, že když je přemluvíme, že to bude jinak, tak jsou spokojení s tím naším řešením.
- 25) *Takže ty předsudky jsou založené na neopodstatněném základě?*
To já nevím, těm lidem nevidím do hlavy. My jim hned od začátku říkáme, že to nejsme schopni zaručit a stavíme se k tomu tak, že ten požadavek nepovažujeme úplně za legitimní.
- 26) *Zatímco ten požadavek na rodilého mluvčího je pro vás legitimní.*
Jasně. Ano, protože to je o nějaké ... já nechci říct kvalitě ... ale ... souvisí to přímo se vzděláváním. Kdežto požadavek na chlapa nebo ženskou nesouvisí se vzděláváním. Ale taky máme kurzy, kde jsou paní kolem šedesátky a ty zase nechtějí učitele. A nakonec jsme jim dali mladého lektora a byli spokojení. Ale to je těžké ... ale tím, že základ toho požadavku vychází z něčeho jiného, tak to jsou dvě různé věci ... nebo alespoň pro mne osobně určitě.
- 27) *A je nějaký typ kurzu, kdy konkrétně doporučujete rodilého mluvčího?*
Určitě jo ... Když chce někdo jenom konverzaci, tak doporučujeme jednoznačně rovnou rodilce.
- 28) *A třeba na úrovni individuální – skupinový kurz?*
To je jedno, to se nerozlišuje.
- 29) *Stejně jako třeba příprava na certifikát ... CAE nebo CPE?*
Tam se většinou snažíme, aby ti lidi přistoupili na kombinaci Čecha a rodilce, protože ze zkušenosti ... učím víc než 25 let ... a moje zkušenost s certifikáty je 20 let dlouhá, tak vím, že tohle funguje ze všeho nejvíc. A úspěšnost je nejvyšší, když tihle dva lidi to nějakým způsobem sdílejí. Funguje to nejvíc od PET až po proficiency. On ten Čech tam má svoje opodstatnění, protože zejména u Cambridge zkoušek je 50 % taktika a technika a ne znalosti jazyka. Tam to Čech umí Čechům vysvětlit lépe ... kudy na to, aby prošli. A pak je tam rodilec, aby je naučil

speaking a aby opravoval writing, protože to je věc, kterou Čech nikdy tak dobře umět nebude. V listening a reading, tam je Čech i svým způsobem lepší než rodilec, protože to hodně urychlí. Kurzy ke zkoušce jsou prostě dané, udělat tu zkoušku. Cesta, jakou k tomu lidi zvolí, je úplně jedno, hlavně, aby to bylo rychle a dobře.

- 30) *Takže znalost mateřského jazyka studentů je tedy výhoda v přípravě třeba na gramatickou část zkoušky? Když může učitel srovnávat s mateřským jazykem, je to výhoda pro studenty?*

To úplně nevím, jestli je to výhoda. Ale výhoda je to přinejmenším v té takticko-technické přípravě k tomu testu. Čech daleko rychleji vysvětlí, když vidíte tohle, musíte hledat tohle a než by se jim to vysvětlilo anglicky, tak to trvá dvakrát tak dlouho. V momentě, kdy je to takto cílený kurz, tak je to ztráta času, protože cílem je složit tu zkoušku a Čech v tomhle směru určitě přínos má. Navíc i v gramatice může věci lépe vysvětlit, když řekne, tohle znamená tohle a když je tady „if“, tak tady nesmíte dát „will“, tečka. Tohle než jim rodilec vysvětlí ... to je skvělé na jiném typu kurzu, že to naopak nebude rychle vysvětlovat, ale ti lidé na to přijdou sami, tím pádem si to lépe zapamatují. Ale to je jiný typ kurzu. Strašně to závisí na tom, k čemu ten kurz má vést.

- 31) *Když se bavíme o rodilých mluvčích, tak kdo to pro vás vlastně je? Kdyby přišel někdo z Indie, kdo získal kvalifikaci v Indii a je to profesionální učitel ...*

Tohle je samozřejmě velký problém, ale i tohle je vlastně rodilý mluvčí. My jsme tady shodou okolností měli Indu. To souvisí s tím, co jsem říkala. Co je to vlastně dneska angličtina? Angličtina je něco, čím se mluví v Austrálii, na Novém Zélandu, v Indii, v Pákistánu ... a to jsou úplně neslučitelné jazyky. Ale když nebudeme chodit daleko, když si sem vezmeme Ira nebo Skota, tak mu taky nebudou rozumět. A všichni to jsou rodilí mluvčí. Ale nakonec se všichni tihle lidé sejdou v nějaké nadnárodní společnosti a musí spolu komunikovat. Takže pro nás, když přijde takovýhle člověk, měli jsme tu Indu, my s tím nemáme problém. Ale studenti většinou chtějí nebo jsou zvyklí na britskou nebo americkou angličtinu ... někteří to i přímo vyžadují, že chtějí Brita nebo Američana. Ale já si osobně myslím, že by si měli začít zvykat i na jiné angličtiny ... v Jižní Africe se taky mluví anglicky a taky je to strašný problém jim rozumět, protože mají jinou slovní zásobu a tak. A to nemluví o Němcích, kteří v každé spolkové zemi mluví jinak. Lidi, co se učí anglicky ještě nechápou, že angličtin je spousta druhů, a že BBC English už je vlastně vymřelý druh. Takže musíme trochu hledat cesty, jak to s klienty řešit, ale ještě se nám nestalo, že by nám někdo řekl, toho já nechci, protože je to Ir. Žádné zásadní problémy jsme s tím neměli. Je pravda, že ti učitelé, protože jsou kvalifikovaní, vědí, že nemůžou mluvit, jak jim zobák narostl, a že musí mluvit alespoň trochu standardní angličtinou, která sice má neobvyklý přízvuk, ale je pořád srozumitelná.

- 32) *Takže byste si klidně „dovolili“ dát třeba Indu úplným začátečníkům?*

To by strašně záleželo na typu kurzu a na tom učiteli ... to se takhle nedá říct. To už potom člověk musí řešit tu zcela konkrétní situaci ... jací jsou lidé v kurzu, jestli jsou vstřícní, jaký je ten lektor, jestli je vstřícný, jestli je otevřený komunikaci ... až by to vzniklo, tak bych to řešila.

- 33) *Když tedy přijde zájemce o místo lektora ve vaší škole, tak co vás na něm zajímá nejvíc?*

Jestli umí učit. Náš kolega rodilec, který má toto na starosti, při tom pohovoru zjišťuje, jestli umí učit. Mají připravenou ukázkovou hodinu a zjišťuje se, jestli umí pracovat i s nižšími úrovněmi a na základě toho je potom i přiřazujeme do kurzů. Někdo se třeba hodí pro začátečníky, někdo pro pokročilé nebo konverzaci, to je individuální, každý je jiný.

- 34) *Takže nezáleží výlučně na kvalifikaci, ale dost i na osobnosti?*

Kvalifikace je důležitá, protože my jsme členy ACERT, takže musíme mít nějaké procento kvalifikovaných lektorů. Ale dneska už sem bez TEFLu, minimálně TEFLu, nikdo nechodí. To je to, co jsem říkala na začátku, rodilci sem přijdou a už mají TEFL, vědí, že sem jdou učit. Někdo má CELTu, ale TEFL mají všichni. Takže už nechodí takoví ti Američani z Vysočan, kteří si mysleli, že s někým budou u piva hodinu tlachat a on jim to pivo zaplatí. To už nefunguje.

- 35) *Takže jaké byste měla doporučení pro novou jazykovku, která by přišla na trh a zvažovala by, jestli má angažovat rodilé mluvčí?*
To záleží na tom, co ta jazykovka chce poskytovat za služby. Pokud má ambice expandovat na celý trh, tak to bez rodilců absolutně není možné. Pokud jim stačí být ta sídlištní jazykovka, kam se budou děti chodit doučovat, maminky na mateřské si tam budou na dopoledne chodit popovídat, nebo tam budou kroužky seniorů, tak tam samozřejmě je možné, že si vystačí jen s Čechy na všechny jazyky.
- 36) *Ale bez rodilců nikdo do světa díru neudělá.*
No to určitě ne. To vůbec není možné. My jsme, řekněme, mezi top 8 na trhu v počtu odučených hodin a podívejte se, kolik těch rodilců máme a to je jen Praha. Ten poměr bude myslím stejný i na jiných pobočkách.
- 37) *To, co tady zaznělo by asi platilo pro všechny jazyky.*
Určitě. Bez těch rodilců nemáte šanci. My jsme teď měli požadavek na pokročilou francouzštinu pro jednoho Američana, takže legitimní požadavek na rodilého Francouze. Bez těch rodilců to dneska fakt nejde.
- 38) *Umí podle vás absolventi českých univerzit učit angličtinu?*
Ta úroveň lidí, kteří vycházejí ze škol je dneska hrozná. Mají diplomy z fildy, pedáku, ale neumí ten jazyk. Prostě neumí anglicky. To je zoufalá situace. Ti, co něco umí, jsou ti, kteří někam vyjeli. Kteří byli rok na Erasmu, Sokratu ... dělali ten jazyk venku. Ti mají šajn, umí ten jazyk. Metodologii my je tady naučíme, to není problém, ale když neumí jazyk, když dělají základní chyby, tak copak my je můžeme poslat do kurzu a ještě za to chtít od lidí peníze? A ti, co nic neumí si většinou řeknou o největší peníze.
- 39) *Takže přemrštěné sebevědomí ze strany absolventů. A jsou to jenom absolventi?*
Většinou čerství absolventi, protože ti, co se na trhu už nějakou dobu pohybují, tak ti už pochopili, o čem to je.

Appendix 3: PO codes and categories

Q	Summary	Code	Category
1	NESTs are now more qualified	NESTs now more qualified	PAST & PRESENT
	NESTs are aware of what it takes to teach English	Ready to teach English	PAST & PRESENT
2	There are no significant changes in the length of stay	Stay still the same time	PAST & PRESENT
3	NESTs are mostly young graduates but there are also older NESTs	Mostly young but some older NESTs as well	PAST & PRESENT
4	NESTs are crucial for a successful language school	A language school cannot become successful without NESTs	IMPORTANCE
	A language cannot be successful with only NNESTs	A language school cannot become successful with NNESTs only	IMPORTANCE
5	The share of NESTs in a language school should be around 1/3 of all teachers	Ideally about 33% of NESTs in a language school	PAST & PRESENT
6	There is no lack of NESTs in Prague today	Many NESTs in Prague	PAST & PRESENT
7	NESTs bring a novel perspective of the language	NESTs bring a new perspective	IMPORTANCE
	NESTs enrich the learners culturally	NESTs enrich the learners	IMPORTANCE

		culturally	
	NESTs facilitate the contact with authentic contemporary spoken language	NESTs provide contact with authentic spoken English	IMPORTANCE
8	NESTs are different from NNESTs but different does not mean better/worse	NESTs differ from NNESTs but it's not about better/worse	DIFFERENCES
	A NEST who knows the learners' L1 is equal to a NNEST who is proficient in English	A NEST speaking the learners' L1 is equal to a NNEST proficient in English	DIFFERENCES
9	NESTs can teach complete beginners but they need to be experienced and well prepared	Only very experienced NESTs can teach beginners	DIFFERENCES
	From level A2 onwards, a NEST is not a problem	All NESTs can teach any level from A2 onwards	DIFFERENCES
10	Shared courses are quite common in language schools	Shared courses are common	DIFFERENCES
11	NNESTs usually focus more on theory and grammar	NNESTs focus on grammar	DIFFERENCES
	NESTs can teach writing and speaking better	NESTs are better at teaching productive skills	DIFFERENCES
	There is no difference between NESTs and NNESTs in teaching reading and listening, a NNEST may even be better in this	No difference in teaching receptive skills, NNESTs may be even better	DIFFERENCES
12	English has become a global language and it's hard to define the standard	Hard to define standard English	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
	A native-like competence is attainable but it's very laborious and it should not be the ultimate goal	Native-like competence is attainable but should not be the ultimate goal	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
	NESTs are models but they should not be imitated ad nauseam	NESTs are models but should not be mindlessly imitated	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
	NESTs should be an inspiration of what the learners can say and how	NESTs should rather be an inspiration	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
	NESTs should not be idealised too much	NESTs should be idealised	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
13	The learners' ultimate goal should be to make themselves understood in common situations	The ultimate goal should be successful communication	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
14	A native-like competence is attainable but usually not without some time spent in abroad and some aptitude for languages	Native-like competence is attainable but not without aptitude and time spent abroad	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
15	In a non-native context, a native-like competence is almost unattainable and it's pointless to strive for it	Native-like competence is almost unattainable in a non-native context	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
16	Native-like competence could be attained without NESTs if a learner has good NNESTs and some aptitude	Native-like competence is attainable without NESTs but it requires great aptitude	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS

		and commitment	
	The disadvantage of Czech education system is that it does not familiarize the learners with a variety of accents, teachers, and cultures	Czech system does not offer variety of English teachers	DIFFERENCES
	Czech learners are not aware of the global character of English	Learners are not aware of the global character of English	LEARNERS' VIEW
17	Czech learners focus too much on passive knowledge rather than on communicative competence	Czech learners do not focus on successful communication but on passive knowledge	LEARNERS' VIEW
	Successful learners can make themselves understood → they do not have to have perfect grammar	A successful learner communicates easily → does not have to have perfect grammar	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
18	The only disadvantage of employing NESTs is excessive bureaucracy	Bureaucracy is the only disadvantage of employing NESTs	PAST & PRESENT
	NESTs have different cultural backgrounds but that's in fact an advantage for the learners	NESTs enrich the learners culturally	IMPORTANCE
19	A successful language school simply must employ NESTs not because they are better teachers but because learners demand them	Learners demand NESTs → language schools must provide them	LEARNERS' VIEW
20	NESTs are not a sign of prestige of a given language school but simply bare necessity today	NESTs are no longer a sign of prestige but a necessity	IMPORTANCE
21	Learners often explicitly ask for a NEST	Often explicit demands for a NEST	IMPORTANCE
22	Language schools perceive this demand as legitimate	A demand for NESTs is legitimate	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
23	Language schools often recommend a NEST for conversation classes or for intensive courses that should prepare the learners for life abroad or a career in a foreign company	Language schools recommend NESTs for conversation or intensive practice courses	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
24	Language schools don't see the demand for a NEST as discriminatory, unlike a demand for a male/female teacher	A preference for NESTs is not seen as discriminatory	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
	But if a language school wants to be successful, it has to obey the customers	The customer is the king	IMPORTANCE
25	Demands for a male/female teacher or a specific nationality are not considered legitimate	Some demands are not seen as legitimate but not a demand for a NEST	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
26	But a demand for NESTs is not seen as controversial because it's connected to the learning process	A demand for a NEST is linked to the learning process → that's why it's not considered discriminatory	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
27	If a learner wants a purely conversation	Language schools	ROLE IN THE

	course, the language school recommends a NEST	recommend a NEST for conversation classes	LEARNING PROCESS
28	The criterion individual/group course is not decisive for allocating a NEST or a NNEST	The number of learners in a class does not influence the allocation of a NEST/NNEST	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
29	Exam classes are usually shared between a NEST and a NNEST → this co-operation proves to be propitious for this type of courses	Exam classes are often shared between a NEST and a NNEST	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
	A NNEST can explain the technicalities of the exam more effectively and the learners don't lose time	A NNEST explains the technicalities of the exam more effectively	DIFFERENCES
	A NEST is invaluable for practising speaking and writing	A NEST is necessary for speaking and writing	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
30	The knowledge of the learners' L1 is not a remarkable advantage but it can save time in the explanatory part of the lessons (which is not always desirable though)	Knowledge of the learners' L1 can save time but it's not a huge advantage	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
31	It is problematic to clearly define a NEST nowadays (due to the global character of English)	A definition of NESTs is problematic	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
	Learners usually demand either a NEST or a Czech teacher → they don't see the variety of Englishes in the world	Learners refuse NNESTs + non-Czech teachers	LEARNERS' VIEW
	Learners should be more open and get used to many different accents and Englishes	Learners should be aware of the global character of English	LEARNERS' VIEW
	Experienced teachers usually adapt their idiolect to the level of their learners	Experienced teachers adapt to the level of the learners	GOOD TEACHER
32	Learners should demand professionalism rather than nativeness	Learners should prefer professionalism over nativeness	LEARNERS' VIEW
	The personality of the teacher is very important	The teacher's personality is very important	GOOD TEACHER
33	For the language schools, the most important criterion is whether a teacher is able to teach well	Language schools want teachers who are good teachers	GOOD TEACHER
	The nativeness criterion is largely imposed by the learners	Learners force the language schools to maintain the dichotomy	IMPORTANCE
34	A TEFL certificate is a must for NESTs today	NESTs must have some formal qualification	PAST & PRESENT
35	A language school cannot get a strong position on the market if it does not employ NESTs	A language school cannot be successful without NESTs	IMPORTANCE
36	Learners demand NESTs so the language school must provide them	Learners demand NESTs	LEARNERS' VIEW
37	No matter what language it is, a	Universal demand for native	LEARNERS'

	language school must employ native speakers if it wants to be successful	speakers	VIEW
38	Czech universities do not produce good teachers, the graduates are often not proficient English speakers	Czech unis produce bad English speakers → they cannot be good teachers	DIFFERENCES
	Proficient speakers are usually people who spent some time abroad	Life abroad makes people proficient speakers of an L2	GOOD TEACHER
	A good English teacher must be a proficient user of English	A good English teacher must first be a proficient English speaker	GOOD TEACHER

Appendix 4: Transcript of the PR interview

- 1) *Spatřujete nějakou změnu v počtu, kvalifikaci, věku, délce pobytu v ČR u rodilých mluvčích ve srovnání se situací v minulosti (tj. před pěti a více lety)?*

Do Prahy stále přijíždí velké množství rodilých mluvčích - nevidím nějaký větší rozdíl v počtu žádostí o práci –

stále jich je hodně. Změnou je, že se vrací trend, který byl před tak před deseti lety – tj. lektory moc učení nezajímá, spíše si zde chtějí rok užít a učení jim slouží jako zdroj příjmů. To se měnilo po rozšíření schengenského prostoru do ČR, kdy tu díky nutnosti mít víza, spousta lektorů odjela. V té době tu bylo hodně i takových, které učení bavilo a brali to zodpovědně. A zůstávali i několik let. Nyní spíše zůstávají jeden školní rok, ale nemají problém ani odjet v průběhu. Věk lektorů je různý, ale stále převládá mladší generace - většinou lidé, kteří dokončili VŠ (bakaláře) a dopřávají si oddech v Evropě. Objevují se i starší ročníky – to jsou většinou lidé, jejichž děti odrostly a je život v US/UK nenaplnuje, tak zkoušejí něco nového. Určitě je změnou to, že zatímco dříve (zhruba před 10 lety), školy nabíraly jakékoliv rodilé mluvčí, tj. nemít TEFL nebyl problém, nyní to bez TEFL certifikátu nejde a bez něj většinou RM šanci v JŠ nemají. Další problém, kterému nyní lektori čelí je způsob zaměstnávání, zatímco dříve Američané pracovali víceméně na HPP – aby získali víza a pracovní povolení, nyní je tak složité pracovní povolení obdržet včas, že většina, která se rozhodne pracovat v ČR musí žádat o ŽL. Tzn. že jsou zaměstnávání na ŽL.

Posledních několik let jsme nemuseli řešit problémy typu, že lektor nepřišel na hodinu, protože se den předtím opil. To jsou věci, které se řešily možná 8 let zpátky, to bylo celkem časté.

Potom nastalo období, kdy lektori zůstávali delší dobu, třeba 2 roky, učení je bavilo ... Teď máme ale zase trend, kdy nám lektori vydrží jeden školní rok, hodně se nám mění. Dřív platilo, že zhruba polovina rodilých mluvčích jsou stále jádro a zbytek se obměňoval, ale teď je to úplně naopak. Z těch 49 lektorů je 40 nových, kteří nastupovali v září a polovina začala běhen ledna a února odcházet, takže ty musíme nahradit. Máme tedy zhruba 10 – 15 stálých lektorů, kteří tady jsou už několik let. Takže to vypadá, že se vrací ten dřívější trend, ale může to být jen v naší jazykovce ...

- 2) *To je zajímavé. Já jsem slyšel i názor, že dnes zahraniční lektori, kteří přijíždějí, tak chtějí učit. Že už jsou připraveni tady nějaký čas zůstat a profesionálně učit. Ne jenom, že by si povídali se studenty u piva.*

Ano, s tím souhlasím. Ten extrém 90. let, který jsem sice osobně nezažila, kdy lektor přijel jen na pivo, pokecat si, tak tenhle extrém to není. Spíše to porovnávám se situací, kdy lektori se už snažili zodpovědně učit a chtěli se nějak vyvíjet. Uvažovali, že třeba ještě pojedou učit někam jinam a chtěli poskytovat kvalitu. Teď už zase přijíždějí ti méně zodpovědní, kteří to neberou tak vážně. Samozřejmě mají všichni TEFL, v dnešní době je to už standard. Minimálně alespoň přijíždějí s úmyslem si tady TEFL udělat a pak se jim tady zalíbí a zůstanou. To se určitě zlepšilo, že minimálně TEFL už většinou mají. Ale já porovnávám to, co se děje potom. Že si řeknou, fajn, mám TEFL, takže umím učit. Už se ale nestávají situace, kdy lektor přišel do třídy a řekl, vyberte si 10 věcí, které byste si vzali na pustý ostrov, a to byl vrchol jeho přípravy.

- 3) *Liší se nějak schopnost učit u cizinců s TEFLem a Čechů, kteří mají třeba pedagogickou fakultu?*
 Já myslím, že ne. To je vždycky individuální. Někdo na učení má talent, někdo ne. Znáám lidi, kteří mají pedák a 20 let praxe a učit stejně neumějí. Moje zkušenost s lidmi z českých pedáků je, že sice už jsou kvalitnější pedáky, ale pořád je tam hlavní důraz na teorii. To je hlavní rozdíl oproti TEFLu, kde je hlavní důraz na praxi. Takže i TEFL stačí talentovaným lektorům jako odrazový můstek. Stejně tak ale může někomu talentovanému stačit jen pedák. Ale je to individuální, když člověk chce, tak se to naučí. Když ale ten talent nemá, tak může mít 3 pedáky a stejně je poznat, že neví, že jen opakuje, co mu někdo poradil. Ale tohle se stane jak u lektora, který má TEFL, tak i u lektora, který má pedák.
- 4) *Kdybyste měla obecně říct, co pro jazykovku znamenají rodilí mluvčí? Jak je chápete?*
 Na to je pohledů víc. Asi na to má vliv, kdo je zrovna metodik. U nás v metodickém si myslíme, že lektor angličtiny je prostě lektor angličtiny a je jedno, jestli je to rodilec nebo český lektor. Rozdíl je, že český lektor má trochu jiné problémy při výuce, z metodického hlediska, než rodilec. Český lektor má většinou pedák, nebo alespoň certifikát, a trpí na to, že tolik neumí ten jazyk, nežil třeba tak dlouho v zahraničí, nezná všechny kolokace ... tím trochu trpí jeho sebevědomí, že má někdy strach před studenty nebo je na to hodně opatrný. Nešvar lektorů z českého školství je taky to, že jsou často moc zaměřeni na gramatiku, vyplňování cvičení ... Naopak rodilí mluvčí často problémy s gramatikou mají, nejsou zvyklí s ní pracovat tak, jako nerodilí mluvčí. Takže my s nimi musíme pracovat trochu jinak, protože mají trochu jiné problémy. Ale náš pohled je, že je jedno, jestli je člověk rodilec nebo ne. Pohled klienta je ovšem trochu jiný. Pohled klienta je, že český lektor mě naučí jazyk a rodilce mám na to, abych si s ním popovídal a rozmluvil se. V ČR to pořád ještě přetrvává, rodilce na mluvení, Čecha na gramatiku. Takže se střetává náš pohled a požadavky klienta.
- 5) *Stává se často, že klienti explicitně požádají o rodilého mluvčího?*
 Jo, to je naprosto běžné. Semestrální kurzy pro veřejnost obsazujeme bez ohledu na národnost lektora. Samozřejmě, že u těch vysokých úrovní nebo příprav na zkoušky, tam rodilec být musí. Buď je v kombinaci s Čechem, nebo jen rodilý mluvčí. Ale máme i kurzy, kde je jen český lektor, když víme, že si na to troufne a je kvalitní. Víme ale, že vnímání klienta je, že čím vyšší úroveň, tím spíše bych měl mít rodilce. U těch nižších úrovní je většinou požadavek na českého lektora. Ale když chce rodilec kurz A1 a má na to předpoklady, tak my mu ten kurz svěříme. Třeba italštinu máme pokrytou jen rodilci, všechny úrovně. V semestrálních kurzech se tolik nestřetáváme s požadavky klientů, klienti si zase tolik nevybírají. Ale u firemních kurzů to takhle funguje, že řeknou, chceme rodilce. Občas to klienti nechají na nás, protože nám jako metodikům věří a my jim doporučíme lektora. Potom lektora vybíráme na základě toho, na co se má kurz zaměřovat. Když chtějí klienti business angličtinu, tak zkoumáme, jestli to lektor umí a ne, jestli je to Čech nebo rodilec. Takových firem, které to nechají na nás je ale hrozně málo. Většina firem přijde s tím, že pro tuhle skupinu chtějí rodilce a pro tuhle Čecha.
- 6) *A je to tak, že pro nižší úrovně si firmy „nadiktují“ Čecha a pro vyšší rodilce?*
 Ano. Někdy si ale i nižší úrovně studentů sami o rodilce řeknou a firma jim ho dá. Ale stále převládá, že Čech je pro nižší úrovně a rodilec pro vyšší. To se projevuje i v tom, že jsme měli tendenci žádat stejnou sazbu za všechny lektory, ale firmy nás nutí, abychom to rozdělovali. Představují si, že český lektor by měl být levnější a rodilec dražší.
- 7) *Což pro vás na metodickém, když nerozlišujete mezi rodilci a nerodilci, je zcestný požadavek.*
 Je to pro nás obtížné, protože pro nás je lektor lektor, každý se musí připravovat, tudíž by měl být za stejnou práci stejně ohodnocen. Ale ve chvíli, kdy firma odmítá za Čecha zaplatit víc, jsme nuceni mu buď snížit sazbu nebo ho do toho kurzu nedat. Pro nás to rozhodně příjemné není, ale je to asi nadlouho, než se to ze společnosti vymytí ... že Čech je levnější než rodilec.
- 8) *Takže byste řekla, že rodilci jsou pro studenty prestižnější, když jsou ochotni za ně platit víc?*
 Asi ano, studenti to zřejmě neberou z pohledu vynaloženého času a přípravy lektora, ale z pohledu toho, že Čechů je u nás spousta a kdykoliv si kohokoliv seženou. Kdežto rodilec musí

přijet z Ameriky, takže je to dražší. Přitom nevidí, že rodilců je tady plno a mnoho z nich odjíždí, protože nedokáží sehnat práci. Někteří rodilci jsou navíc drzejší a dovedou si říct o víc peněz, i když učit neumějí.

9) *Takže rodilci mají nějakou mýtickou přidanou hodnotu.*

Spíš je to mýtická hodnota, než aby se to zakládalo na odvedené práci. Znam plno studentů, kteří měli dobrého českého lektora a vyměnili ho za rodilce, který s nimi jen klábosí a oni se ve výsledku naučí mnohem méně. Přitom jsou ale ochotni za takovou hodinu dát víc.

10) *Takže když se vrátíme k tomu kritériu rodilosti, tak vy, když přijímáte nového lektora, tak vás tedy nezajímá, jestli je to Angličan nebo Slovák.*

Čistě teoreticky, ne. Přijímali jsme třeba Rusy, kteří měli tak úžasnou angličtinu, že nebyl problém je umístit do kurzů. Ale je to boj potom s klienty, abychom takového lektora někam umístili. Když takového lektora nemáme pod co schovat, tak je to problém. V očích klientů do kurzu dodáváme buď českého lektora, nebo rodilého mluvčího. Setkala jsem se i s klientem, který mi řekl, Slovenku ne. To byl ale extrém, protože Slováci se berou jako čeští lektori. Takže Češi a Slováci nemají problém, rodilý mluvčí je pro klienty Američan, Australan, Brit, občas projde i Jihoafričan ... a tím to končí. Takže ve chvíli, kdy přijde opravdu dobrý lektor, ale je to Rus, Polák, Maďar, tak najednou máte problém, kdo to je. Já bych ho sice přijala, protože je lepší než polovina lektorů, co máme, ale musím myslet na to, že ho budu muset dát do nějakého kurzu. Když si potom klient řekne o jeho životopis, tak ho může odmítat, protože to není ani Čech, ani rodilec, takže česky nám rozumět nebude a „rodile“ nás taky nenaučí. Tohle se nedaří vymýtit, protože je to začarovaný kruh. Klient vás nutí, abyste rozlišovali Čech – rodilec, takže potom nabízíte jako lektory Čechy nebo rodilce, což zase podporuje to zakořeněné rozdělování.

11) *A co třeba Skoti?*

To se většinou podaří ... nechci říct, že lidé jsou hloupí ... ale prostě řekneme, že je to Brit. Pod Brity většinou schováme i Iry, Australany a Jihoafričany, to není problém. Někdy se to ale musí klientům dovysvětlit, že Jihoafričan je opravdu ještě rodilý mluvčí.

12) *A proč myslíte, že tady panuje taková atmosféra, že lidé by rádi měli Angličana z Londýna a Američana z Bostonu? Mají třeba pocit, že se od nich víc naučí?*

To netuším, ale možná je to trochu spojené s tím, že jsme Češi ... nevím. Nechci být hnusná, ale přijde mi, že to v nás je už od školy, že máte českého lektora a na konverzaci rodilce. Tam to už podle mne začíná. Že dětem se říká, teď máš svoji učitelku na angličtinu a odpoledne za odměnu budeš mít konverzaci s rodilým mluvčím. Nikdo jim neřekne, že to jsou rovnocenní lektori. Vytváří se dojem, že s rodilým mluvčím bude sranda, zatímco s Čechem se drtí gramatika. To se pak přenáší do dospělosti a jen velmi málo lidí to nerozlišuje. To platí i pro jazykové školy. Jen pár jich nedělá rozdíly mezi rodilci a nerodilci. Právě ti Rusové a Poláci, kteří chtějí učit angličtinu nám často říkají, že v mnoha jazykovkách je vůbec nezvou na pohovor.

S naší povahou to asi souviset bude, protože třeba v Británii je požadavek na lektora v letním kurzu, aby měl minimálně CELTu a zkušenosti s výukou, ale nikdo neřeší, odkud je. Zaměstnají kohokoliv.

13) *Takže když hledáte nového lektora, tak nemáte na inzerátu napsáno, „hledáme rodilého mluvčího“?*

To bych lhala, to máme. K tomu nás právě nutí naši klienti. Standardně požadujeme výbornou znalost jazyka, ale když hledáme cíleně lektora pro nějaký konkrétní kurz, tak se řídíme požadavkem klienta a pak je inzerát nadepsaný třeba „hledáme rodilého mluvčího“.

14) *Lidé možná ještě nezaregistrovali, že dnes už existuje plno různých angličtin ...*

Ano. Globální jazyk. Pro spoustu lidí je to pořád tak, já se chci učit britskou angličtinu, já se chci učit americkou angličtinu. Asi k tomu i přispívá i škola. Studenti u nás na pomaturitním studiu jsou často překvapení, když jim řeknu, tohle je správně v britské angličtině, ale tohle je taky správně, jen je to americká angličtina, takže je jedno, jak to řeknete. Nikdo jim nevysvětlil, že obě

formy jsou správné, a že nikdo jim v testu neopraví americkou angličtinu jako chybu. Mají pocit, že když se učí třeba britskou angličtinu, všechny ostatní jsou špatné. Ale mnohdy jim to učitel ani neřekne, buď proto, že to neví, nebo proto, že je to tak jednodušší. Ale jsou i učitelé, kteří na to studenty upozorňují, ale ti jsou rozhodně v menšině.

15) *Zmiňovala jste, že v některých kurzech spolupracuje český lektor s rodilým mluvčím. Ta spolupráce se osvědčuje?*

Z odborného hlediska si nejsem jistá, že tam nějaká přidaná hodnota je. Možná je to lepší pro studenty, protože přece jen čeští lektori mají většinou pořád trochu jiný přístup než rodilí mluvčí, takže každý student si vybere něco, co ho baví. Myslím si ale, že správný lektor by měl umět pracovat se všemi studenty. Skutečnost ale je, že mnoho lektorů to nedokáže, takže spolupráce s jiným lektorem pomáhá, aby byl každý student spokojený. Každopádně tohle dělení ale přispívá k tomu, že studenti rozlišují a českého lektora vidí jako někoho, kdo je učí gramatiku a rodilý lektor je tam na konverzaci a zábavnou část výuky. Když dělíme jakýkoliv kurz, říkáme lektorům, aby si to tímhle způsobem nedělili, protože to nemůže fungovat, aby někdo strávil 90 minut vysvětlováním gramatiky a někdo druhý ji pak procvičoval v konverzaci. To jde ruku v ruce. Někteří lektori právě k tomu ale nakonec sklouznou. Je to pro ně jednodušší.

16) *A platí většinou, že rodilec dělá tu zábavnější část hodiny a český lektor gramatiku?*

Nejde ani o tu zábavnost, ale o to, že rodilci se většinou gramatice vyhýbají. Pokud nejsou zkušení, raději dělají poslech nebo konverzaci. Naopak čeští lektori se více věnují gramatice, protože má jasná pravidla a můžou se v ní spolehnout na svoje znalosti. V konverzaci nebo i čtení a poslechu většinou nerodilci nebývají tak jistí. Mají obavy, že nebudou znát všechna slova a významy. V gramatice se málokdy stane, že lektor neví nebo nedokáže odpovědět na otázky studentů. Gramatika je pro tradičního českého lektora bezpečnější teritorium. Tam může studentům ukázat, že je nad nimi. Rodilec si v této oblasti naopak většinou není tak jistý.

17) *Myslíte, že pro studenty je rodilý mluvčí větší vzor než nerodilý mluvčí?*

Těžko říct. Určitě to záleží i na osobnosti lektora a studenta. Tradiční student, který chce hlavně gramatiku bude spokojen s tradičním českým lektorem, který učí právě gramatiku. Většina studentů má ale ... nechci říct respekt, ale ... víc berou toho rodilce, protože on všechno ví a všechno zná, když angličtina je jeho rodný jazyk. Potom jsou velice překvapení, když rodilec něco neví. To je naprosto šokuje a nechápou, jak je to možné. Možná by se tedy dalo říct, že rodilec je svým způsobem větší vzor, ale je to určitě složitější.

18) *Vzor v tom, že se třeba snaží imitovat jeho výslovnost?*

Třeba. Nebo se s ním prostě snaží porozumět. Možná s ním častěji mají kamarádský vztah. Ale jsou i studenti, kterým nevyhovuje, když jsou rodilci moc „free“ a naopak jim vyhovuje seriózní Čech. Ale i s Čechem může být sranda a znám i rodilce, kteří jsou na studenty opravdu přísní. Tady se těžko zobecňuje na rodilé a nerodilé mluvčí. Spíš hraje roli konkrétní osobnost.

19) *Mělo by být cílem studenta, aby se dostal na úroveň rodilých mluvčích?*

Zajímavá otázka ... Já si myslím, že ne. 90% lidí potřebuje angličtinu k tomu, aby se domluvili, ne k tomu, aby imitovali rodilé mluvčí. Rodilí mluvčí stejně nikdy nebudou, protože se prostě narodili v ČR a to změnit nejde. Samozřejmě jsou lidé, kteří na to talent mají a když mluví, tak si řeknete, ten má výslovnost skoro jako rodilec, nebo má tak širokou slovní zásobu, že je JAKO rodilec. Sen některých studentů to určitě je. Otázka je, zda to potřebují. Dneska už se skoro nikdo neučí angličtinu proto, že je to krásný jazyk, ale proto, že se ho učít musí. Ve většině případů potom angličtinu nepoužívají v komunikaci s rodilci, ale s nerodilci. Úroveň angličtiny je tam úplně jiná. Já mám zkušenost, že kdykoliv někam vycestuji, do země, kde angličtina není úředním jazykem, tak musím jít se svojí angličtinou dolů. Já nemám úroveň rodilého mluvčího, ale když začnu používat past perfect nebo present perfect nebo nějaké složitější kolokace, tak mi lidé prostě nerozumí. Člověk potom začne schválně mluvit s chybami, protože ví, že kdyby mluvil správně, nepochopili by ho. Mnoho lidí tohle ještě nepochopilo. Že v 90% případů se potřebujete čistě porozumět a ne mluvit jako rodilec. To jsou dva rozdílné cíle. Lidé potřebují základní fráze,

základní gramatiku a hlavně procvičovat komunikační dovednosti. Kdy, co, komu říct a jak. To je důležitější než past perfect nebo znát všechny idiomy.

20) *Nebo mít perfektní výslovnost.*

Přesně tak.

21) *Pokud to nebrání porozumění.*

Ano. Výslovnost by měla být taková, aby to nebránilo porozumění. Aby ale někdo mluvil s dokonalým londýnským přízvukem, to mu bude k ničemu. Pokud na to někdo má talent, tak proč ne, ale ve finále to může být i demotivující, snažit se dosáhnout ideálu.

22) *Takže je to zmařená energie a čas.*

Přesně tak. Plno lidí to dokáže od angličtiny odradit a pak jsou z nich falešní začátečníci, kteří to zabalili s tím, že všechnu tu gramatiku a kolokace se stejně nikdy nenaučí. Přitom by jim bohatě stačily základní časy, přítomnost, minulost, nějaký způsob vyjadřování budoucnosti. Sice by zůstali na nižší úrovni, ale dorozuměli by se.

23) *Myslíte, že v dnešní době může jazyková škola fungovat bez rodilých mluvčích?*

Vzhledem k tomu, že chcete vydělávat, tak musíte uspokojovat klienty. A když klienti chtějí rodilé mluvčí, tak to bez nich nejde.

Protože si myslím, že cílem by mělo být dorozumění se a setkávání se s jinými kulturami, tak rodilý mluvčí je důležitý, protože přinese nový element. Český lektor přináší jen český pohled, pokud samozřejmě nežil dlouhou dobu v zahraničí. Zahraniční lektor je ale vždycky pro studenty plus, protože je seznámí s cizí kulturou. Takže nezáleží na tom, jestli jsou to přímo rodilí mluvčí, ale měli by to být lektoři různých národností. Někde ve světě už to tak funguje, ale v ČR si pořád dost zakládáme na rodilých mluvčích. Ale i sem jednou přijde trend, že se angličtina učí jako globální jazyk, takže by ho měli učit globální lektoři všech národností. Jazykovka bez rodilců dnes ale fungovat nemůže.

Už jenom z hlediska klientů, kteří to setkávání se s jinými kulturami ještě nepochopili.

24) *Takže hlavní přínos rodilých mluvčích je, že přinášejí jiný pohled a obohacují studenta.*

Aniž by si to studenti uvědomovali, tak si myslím, že je to obohacuje. I když dnes už máme učebnice a nahrávky s různými akcenty angličtiny, osobní kontakt s cizincem je pořád nejlepší.

25) *Dá se říct, že nějaký typ kuzu vyhovuje rodilým mluvčím víc? Určitá úroveň klientů, typ kurzu ...*

Pokud nemáme explicitní požadavek od klienta na určitého lektora tak kurz nabídneme tomu lektorovi, který o něj má zájem. Může se ale stát, že pokud například rodilý mluvčí, který zrovna skončil TEFL kurz a nemá moc zkušeností, chce učit úroveň A0, tak mu na metodickém oddělení budeme hodně pomáhat, popřípadě mu ten kurz nesvěříme, protože je to pro takového lektora strašně těžké a většinou si na tom vyláme zuby. Na druhou stranu existuje také spousta českých lektorů, kterým bych úroveň A0 taky nesvěřila, protože i když umí česky, tak neumí pracovat se začátečníky. Když bychom se tedy zcela oprostili od požadavků klienta, tak bychom spíše přihlíželi ke schopnostem lektora, než k tomu, zda je to rodilec nebo ne. Obecně ale platí, že učit nižší úroveň je pro rodilce těžší, takže to vyžaduje mnoho zkušeností, talentu a možná i základy češtiny. Někdy tam čeština být musí, protože když se student ztratí, tak mnohdy není jiná pomoc, než přejít do češtiny.

Ten klasický scénář konverzace s rodilým mluvčím je do značné míry založen na požadavcích klientů. Většinou totiž berou konverzaci ne jako rozvoj komunikačních dovedností, ale jako trénink rozhovoru s rodilcem. Tady opět hraje velkou roli očekávání klienta. Když ale klient žádné požadavky nemá, nedělá nám problém svěřit konverzační kurz i českému lektorovi.

Čistě teoreticky by všichni lektoři měli být schopni učit všechno, ale samozřejmě to tak v praxi není. Pro rodilé mluvčí je obecně složitější učit nižší úroveň a gramatiku. Na kurzy, kde se toto nevyžaduje je tedy rodilý mluvčí vhodnější.

26) *Právě proto, že ...*

Mu to půjde lépe a možná se časem vyškolí, aby zvládal i začátečníky a gramatiku.

- 27) *Takže by se dalo říct, že benefitem nerodilých mluvčí je to, že se studenty sdílí stejný mateřský jazyk?*
Spíš že byli sami v kůži studentů a dokáží tu zkušenost využít. Spojit a porovnat angličtinu s češtinou je ale taky výhoda. Tohle většinou rodilec nabídnout nemůže.
- 28) *Zatímco benefit rodilého mluvčího je, že zná hovorový jazyk, kolokace ...*
Zná hovorový jazyk, má autentický přízvuk a přináší nový pohled. Sice si nezažil, jaké to je, učit se angličtinu jako cizí jazyk, ale má jiný náhled na podání jazyka.
- 29) *Ještě byste chtěla něco zmínit, co se týká rodilých a nerodilých mluvčí?*
Já nevím ... tohle téma je velice složité a asi uslyšíte mnoho různých a protichůdných názorů. Právě to rozdělování na rodilé a nerodilé mluvčí ... podle mne je to hloupost, ale chápu některé důvody, proč by se to rozdělovat mělo. Rozdíl ve výuce mezi rodilci a nerodilci jsou, takže svým způsobem by tam asi nějaké rozdělení být mělo, ale kde a jak, to je komplikované.
- 30) *Dalo by se říct, že rozlišování rodilec – nerodilec je do značné míry vynucené?*
Asi je to stejné jako s otázkou, proč mají kluci radši autíčka a holky panenky. Je to proto, že si to vybrali, nebo proto, že se jim už od malička kupují? Třeba by si je nakonec sami i vybrali, ale přijde mi to trochu stereotypní, stejně jako s rodilci a nerodilci.
Asi hraje roli i to, že ve státním školství se ještě pořád tolik nehledí na potřeby studenta tolik, jako v soukromých školách. V jazykové škole se zkoumá, co daná skupina potřebuje a chce a na základě toho jim vyberou lektora. Ve státním školství je to tak, že se řekne, je to úroveň A0, takže budou mít Čecha. Když se lektor vybere na základě potřeb studenta, tak je to vždycky lepší a je jedno, jestli ten lektor je Čech nebo rodilec.
Navíc pokud má lektor opravdu zájem, tak se naučí základy češtiny a zjistí, co dělá českým studentům problémy a jestli to má spojitost s jejich mateřštinou.
- 31) *Takže ideální lektor není ten, který má americký nebo český pas, ale ten, kdo má zájem.*
Ano, ten, kdo má zájem studenty něco naučit. Nejde o to, jestli učíte 10, 20 let nebo jestli máte pedák nebo nic, ale důležité je, že uděláte maximum pro to, aby se student něco naučil. Klidně u toho můžete dělat chyby, ale učit se naučíte tím, že budete učit. Když potom něco nevyjde, nefunguje, tak se zamyslíte nad tím, proč to nefungovalo a příště zkusíte něco jiného nebo se zeptáte kolegů, metodiků, podíváte se na internet ... Takový lektor bude pro studenta nejpřínosnější a je jedno, zda to bude rodilec nebo Čech.

Appendix 5: PR codes and categories

Q	Summary	Code	Category
1	Still many NES want to teach	Still many	PAST & PRESENT
	TEFL certificate is now a must	Qualification	PAST & PRESENT
	NESTs usually don't stay for very long	Short length of stay	PAST & PRESENT
	NESTs are perhaps less committed to the teaching profession	Lesser commitment	PAST & PRESENT
	Still mostly young NESTs, i.e. after graduation	Young age	PAST & PRESENT
	Due to bureaucracy, most NESTs are now freelance teachers (they used to be employees in the past)	Employment conditions	PAST & PRESENT
	NESTs are more disciplined nowadays	Greater discipline	PAST & PRESENT

	Greater fluctuation of NESTs, only a few stable NESTs	Greater fluctuation	PAST & PRESENT
2	NESTs are more responsible today	Less carefree	PAST & PRESENT
	Today, most NESTs don't see their future in the teaching profession	No future in teaching	PAST & PRESENT
	TEFL is a standard qualification	Formal qualification	PAST & PRESENT
	Most NESTs end their professional education when they get TEFL	Not willing to study further	PAST & PRESENT
3	No course can teach people how to teach, they need constant practice and some talent	Practice and talent make a good teacher	GOOD TEACHER
	Czech universities are mainly focused on theory	Czech unis are about theory	DIFFERENCES
	TEFL courses are mainly focused on practice	TEFL is about practice	DIFFERENCES
	To be a good teacher, certain amount of talent is necessary	The necessity of talent	GOOD TEACHER
4	The importance of NESTs is subjective	Subjective importance of nests	IMPORTANCE
	Czech teachers have lower English competence	Czech teachers have lower competence	DIFFERENCES
	Czech teachers tend to have lower self-confidence due to the lower competence	Czech teachers have lower self-confidence	DIFFERENCES
	Czech teachers are usually more focused on grammar	Czech teachers are grammar-oriented	DIFFERENCES
	NESTs usually have trouble with teaching grammar	NESTs have trouble with grammar	DIFFERENCES
	According to language schools, NESTs and NNESTs are slightly different	Language schools: slight difference NESTs - NNESTs	DIFFERENCES
	According to learners, NESTs and NNESTs are considerably different	Learners: big difference NESTs - NNESTs	LEARNERS' VIEW
	Learners expect that NESTs teach conversation and NNESTs teach grammar	Learners: NESTs = conversation, NNESTs = grammar	LEARNERS' VIEW
	Language schools would like to put less emphasis on the NEST – NNEST distinction	Language schools: put less emphasis on the (N)NEST criterion	DIFFERENCES
5	Learners think that the higher the level, the more appropriate it is to have a NEST	Learners: the higher the level, the more appropriate a NEST is	LEARNERS' VIEW
	Language schools do not see it as clear-cut except A0 level where NESTs are almost never recommended	Language schools: NESTs are not very suitable for A0 only	DIFFERENCES
	Language schools think it is necessary to have a NEST in exam classes – at least in combination with a NNEST	Language schools: a NEST is necessary in an exam class	IMPORTANCE
	Language schools would want to allocate teachers to courses only on the basis of the teachers' competences, not nationality	Language schools: qualification and experience should replace nativeness	DIFFERENCES
6	Learners believe that NNESTs are more suitable for lower levels	Learners: NNESTs are more suitable for lower	LEARNERS' VIEW

		levels	
	Learners think that NNESTs should be cheaper than NESTs	Learners: NNESTs should be paid less	LEARNERS' VIEW
7	Learners don't realise that they should pay for higher qualification and time spent with preparation rather than for nativeness	Learners don't value qualification over nativeness	LEARNERS' VIEW
	Some learners do not want to pay the same price for NNESTs as for NESTs	Learners are willing to pay more for NESTs	LEARNERS' VIEW
8	Learners believe that there is only a small number of NESTs → they see them as more prestigious → they are willing to pay more for them	Learners: there's a limited number of NESTs	LEARNERS' VIEW
	But NESTs are by no means scarce in the Czech Republic	NESTs are numerous	PAST & PRESENT
	Learners don't see that they should value qualification and not nativeness	Learners don't value qualification and experience that much	LEARNERS' VIEW
9	NESTs have some mythical added value for the learners because they are willing to pay more for even worse lessons	Mythical added value of NESTs	DIFFERENCES
10	Learners demand either a NEST or a Czech teacher → non-native non-Czech teachers are sometimes refused (by the learners and by some schools as well)	Learners want only Czechs or natives	LEARNERS' VIEW
	They refuse them because they can't speak Czech and they can't speak native English either	NNESTs+non-Czech teachers seen as inferior	LEARNERS' VIEW
	Language schools are forced to offer either NESTs or Czech teachers which further reinforces the dichotomy	Language schools are forced to maintain the dichotomy	DIFFERENCES
11	The term 'native speaker' has much narrower meaning for the learners → e.g. South Africans are often not perceived as NESs	Learners have a narrow idea of a NES	LEARNERS' VIEW
12	Czech learners are biased when they think that NESTs are better teachers than NNESTs	Learners see NESTs as more qualified	LEARNERS' VIEW
	Learners often expect that NNESTs would be stricter and would focus on grammar and exercises while NESTs would be more friendly and would make the lessons more enjoyable	Learners: NNESTs = stricter, grammar; NESTs = fun, conversation	LEARNERS' VIEW
	Learners (and some language schools) don't see that NESTs and NNESTs are equal	Learners: NESTs and NNESTs are not equal teachers	LEARNERS' VIEW
13	Language schools would like to demand only proficient knowledge of English but they are forced to distinguish between NESTs and NNESTs because learners demand it	Language schools forced to maintain the dichotomy	DIFFERENCES
14	Czech learners are mostly not aware of the existence of diverse Englishes and if they are, they often see them as inferior to BrE or AmE (with BrE being seen as the	Learners not aware of the global character of English	LEARNERS' VIEW

	'purest' English perhaps)		
15	Shared courses have a doubtful methodological value for the learners but it is true that NESTs and NNESTs approach English differently, which is enriching for the learners	NESTs and NNESTs approach the language differently → it enriches the learners	IMPORTANCE
	Theoretically, any teacher should be able to teach anything but this is rarely true	Teachers are not versatile → shared courses	DIFFERENCES
	Shared courses contribute to the traditional dichotomy: NESTs = conversation and fun; NNESTs = dull grammar and exercises	Shared courses support the dichotomy	DIFFERENCES
	Many teachers also conform to this pattern because it is easier for them	Conforming to the dichotomy is easy for the teachers	DIFFERENCES
16	It is not really true that NESTs make the lessons more entertaining but they simply focus more on conversation and listening because that's where they are strong → they avoid/neglect grammar	It's not true that NESTs = fun → they simply focus on what they are stronger at	DIFFERENCES
	Grammar is a safe territory for NNESTs because they can demonstrate their proficiency there	NNESTs feel strong in grammar	DIFFERENCES
17	NESTs are often ascribed an aura of ultimate language authorities and learners are usually astonished when they find out that even a NEST doesn't know everything about English	Learners: NESTs are ultimate language authorities	LEARNERS' VIEW
	NESTs are models for their learners	NESTs are models for the learners	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
18	A NEST is a bigger motivation for the learners because the communication in English is genuine	NESTs motivate the learners more	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
	However, the personalities of the teacher and the learner play an important role	Personality is crucial	GOOD TEACHER
19	It should not be the goal to achieve a native-like competence even though it is attainable	Native-like competence is attainable but pointless to strive for	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
	The goal should be to make oneself understood and to communicate effortlessly	The goal should be successful communication	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
	Learners should focus on practising key communication skills and basic grammar and everyday vocabulary rather than wasting time with imitating native speakers	Learners should focus on communication skills → not imitate NESTs	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
20	If somebody has the aptitude for learning languages, it should be exploited as much as possible but it can be counterproductive to force learners to imitate native speakers and many learners can be discouraged by this	Native-like competence should not be the ultimate goal	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
21	False beginners are mostly learners that have been demotivated by being demanded	Native-like competence as the ultimate model	ROLE IN THE LEARNING

	to imitate native speakers' competence	can be an impediment to learning	PROCESS
22	Pursuing a native-like competence is mostly a waste of time	It's pointless to strive for native-like competence	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
23	No language school can be really successful without NESTs because learners demand NESTs	No language school can be successful without NESTs	IMPORTANCE
	Foreign teachers bring a novel perspective → they enrich their students also culturally → a language school should employ foreign teachers (i.e. not just NESTs and NNESTs)	Schools should employ foreign teachers → they enrich the learners culturally	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
	Since English is a global language, it should be taught by global teachers but learners still see only NESTs and Czech teachers	English should be taught by 'global' teachers	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
24	For the learners, personal contact with a foreigner is invaluable, not only as regards language but also culturally	Cultural + language advantages of foreign teachers	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
25	Inexperienced teachers (especially NESTs) should not teach absolute beginners (A0) because it's extremely difficult for them	Teaching beginners requires great experience	DIFFERENCES
	Experience and qualification are the key characteristics of a good teacher → not nativeness	Experience and qualification make a good teacher	GOOD TEACHER
	Teaching A0 students perhaps demands at least a basic knowledge of the students' L1	Basics of the learners' L1 necessary for teaching beginners	DIFFERENCES
	It is usually difficult for NESTs to teach lower levels and grammar	Teaching beginners + grammar is difficult for NESTs	DIFFERENCES
	Even Czech teachers can teach conversation classes if they are experienced and qualified	Conversation classes can be taught by experienced NNESTs	DIFFERENCES
	But if a learner demands a NEST, the language school usually provides one regardless of the level	The customer is the king	IMPORTANCE
26	Practice makes perfect and an experienced teacher can teach any class	Practice makes perfect	GOOD TEACHER
27	The advantage of NNESTs is that they were learners of English themselves and that they can relate English to Czech (but this is less important)	NNESTs were learners themselves → advantage	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
28	The advantage of NESTs is that they have vast knowledge of vocabulary, they have authentic accents, and they bring a new perspective	NESTs bring a novel perspective + have native competence	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
	If NESTs have learnt a foreign language themselves, it can help them imagine what their learners experience	Knowledge of the learners' L1 is insightful for a NEST	DIFFERENCES
29	The native – non-native dichotomy is to a large extent illogical if it is used evaluatively but it is true that there are some differences between NESTs and NNESTs	There are differences between NESTs – NNESTs but it's not about better/worse	DIFFERENCES

30	The dichotomy is mostly propounded by the learners and by state schools, where a NEST is held in high esteem and mostly teaches advanced levels → is seen as most qualified of all English teachers	The dichotomy propounded by the learners and state schools	DIFFERENCES
	The point is to consider the needs of the learners and allocate a teacher accordingly → don't follow the simplistic and stereotypical pattern: A0 = NNEST, C1 = NEST	Learners' needs should be the criterion for allocating a teacher → not nativeness	ROLE IN THE LEARNING PROCESS
	A good teacher is always interested in the needs of the learners and always strives to make his teaching address these needs	A good teacher addresses the learners' needs	GOOD TEACHER
	A good teacher will learn the basics of the learners' L1 in order to understand and avoid potential L1 interference	A good teacher learns the learners' L1 → understands learning difficulties	GOOD TEACHER
31	Practice makes perfect → it's not about nativeness but about determination and motivation of the teacher	Nativeness doesn't make a good teacher → commitment and determination does	GOOD TEACHER